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*The Duchess of Devonshire.*  
*From an original Drawing.*

*Pub. Nov. 26. 1783. by Richard Phillips. Edg. St. London.*

PUBLIC  
CHARACTERS  
OF  
1806.

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“ ————— I wish no other herald,  
“ No other speaker of my *living actions*,  
“ To keep mine honour from corruption,  
“ Than such an honest chronicler.” —————

HEN. VIII. Act 4. Sc. 2.

“ ————— Hic nigræ succus loliginis ; hæc est  
“ Ærugo mera ; quod vitium procul afore chartis,  
“ Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me  
“ Possum aliud vere promitto.”

HORACE, Sat. i. 4. 100.

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By W. Flint, Old Bailey.

1806.

[Price Half a Guinea in Boards.]

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CHARACTERS

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1870  
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P 97  
J 8

LONDON

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS

20, 21, ABINGDON STREET, LONDON, E.C.

BY J. H. PHILLIPS

1870

Price Half a Guinea in Boards

# PREFACE.

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ANOTHER, forming the eighth volume of the PUBLIC CHARACTERS, is now, with all due deference, submitted to the Public : and it is hoped that the delay of a month, which has this year taken place in its publication, will not be considered as disadvantageous in respect either to the materials or the composition of the work.

An attempt has been made, by an intermixture of men of rank, and men of letters, with civilians, gownsmen, and men of the sword, to engage attention, by diversifying the subjects. Several female characters also, rendered celebrated by their talents, as well as by their virtues, have been occasionally introduced ; and such genuine sources of information have been opened, as it is hoped cannot fail to stamp the character of authenticity on this part of our work.

Into an annual, indeed, into any periodical publication, some mistakes will occasionally creep ; and, notwithstanding the Editors have  
A 2 been

been particularly anxious to acquire correct information, yet after the most strenuous exertions, they cannot flatter themselves with that entire exemption from error, which seldom or never falls to the lot of humanity. They will therefore receive any emendations with thanks ; and prove, at least, by the readiness of their compliance, that they are not devoid of candour.

They may justly assert that they have never stooped to gratify personal resentments, or participated either in the bitterness of theological or political rancour. On recurring to their pages, it is hoped that the purest patriotism will be found to have been inculcated, while morals have ever been contemplated as the master-link that necessarily connects the happiness of individuals with the welfare of society.

It will be seen also that they have been eager, and have, indeed, seized every opportunity, to recall the attention of the public to those gallant officers who have fought the battles of their country, when the ardour of applause may have abated, and the shouts of the multitude are forgotten. They have also treated  
literary

literary men with that deference so justly appertaining to a class, whose functions render them peculiarly important in a free and civilized state ; while the sex has ever been approached with a delicacy so justly its due.

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, and with these hopes, they now usher the PUBLIC CHARACTERS for 1805-6, into the world, trusting that increased exertions on their part, will not be followed by a diminution of interest on the part of the Public.

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The Appendix contains a list of *errata*, together with some additional facts. The embellishments, as usual, consist of portraits of distinguished personages ; among which is that of Her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire, by Caroline Watson, which was intended to have accompanied her memoirs in the preceding volume.

# CONTENTS.

---

	Page
1. THE RIGHT HON. LORD KEITH, K. B. ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.....	1
2. THE HON. MRS. DAMER.....	32
3. LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DOYLE.....	46
4. MRS. THICKNESSE.....	84
5. MR. JOSEPH PASLEY, THE GREYNA-GREEN PARSON..	138
6. MR. JOEL BARLOW.....	152
7. MR. HENRY GREATHEAD, THE INVENTOR OF THE LIFE- BOAT .....	181
8. SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, KNT. RECORDER OF BOM- BAY .....	208
9. THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES ABBOT.....	261
10. CHARLES, THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY....	294
11. SIR THOMAS MANNERS SUTTON, KNT.....	314
12. CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS .....	322
13. CAPTAIN CHARLES MORRIS .....	343
14. MR. AARON BURR, LATE VICE-PRESIDENT OF AMERICA	351
15. THE REV. WALTER BLAKE KIRWAN .....	388
16. SIR HOME RIGGS POPHAM, K. M.....	399
17. THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.....	450
18. THE YOUNG ROSCIUS.....	497
19. REV. HENRY BATE DUDLEY.....	518
20. VICE-ADMIRAL SIR A. MITCHELL, K. B.....	523
21. MADAME D'ARELAY .....	549
	22. SIR

## CONTENTS.

	Page
22. SIR CHAELES MORICE POLE, BART. ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.....	567
23. MR. ELLISTON.....	598
24. MR. ALDERMAN COMBE.....	612

---

## APPENDIX.

Containing Additions and Corrections,	625
---------------------------------------	-----

---

## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

*The Binder is requested to place the Portraits as follows:*

The Duchess of Devonshire	- -	<i>To face the Title.</i>
Lord Keith and Mr. Elliston	- -	Page 1
Plan of Attack on Cadiz	- - -	28
General Doyle	- - -	46
Mr. Joel Barlow and Mr. Bate Dudley	- -	152
Mr. Abbot and Sir James Mackintosh	- -	261

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17



• Mrs. Weston.

# PUBLIC CHARACTERS OF 1805-6.

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THE RIGHT HON. LORD KEITH, K. B.

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
OF THE NORTH SEA FLEET.

THE present state of Europe, although less inauspicious to England than before, is allowed by all thinking men to be critical in the extreme. France seemed but a few months since to bestride the continent like a giant; and while subject potentates crouching at her feet supplicated protection, she affected to menace our little island with immediate destruction. Her armies, increased to an alarming size, extended from the shores of the Zuyder Zee to the confines of the Mediterranean; the liberties of the brave Swiss had been rooted up by her bayonets; and the commerce of the industrious Hollander was paralysed by her insidious embrace. Portugal, our ancient ally, intimidated by her threats, reluctantly withdrew from her former connections; the independence of Spain was swallowed up within the vortex of her power; and Austria, until of late, maintained a cautious neutrality, while Russia, instead of a foe, assumed the character of a mediator.

In this untoward position of affairs, luckily for us, we could still confide in our own strength, and depend on our own resources. A nation that has armed half a million of her citizens, and may fit out one hundred sail of the line, however desirous of peace, need not be terrified at the idea of subjugation. For a defensive war, our country too, if not provided like that of the enemy, with a triple barrier of fortifications, is admirably calculated to resist an invader: it abounds in resources of every kind, and presents every variety of defence. Our shores form of themselves, without the aid of man, so many regular polygons, which, when lined with cannon and with freemen, must be in no common degree formidable. Our vallies boasting a high state of cultivation, are divided into separate fields, each possessing its *fosse* and its *abbatis*; while our roads are flanked by woods and by villages, so as on every side to present the means of delay, obstruction, and death. Nor ought the ocean, which at once surrounds and secures us, to be omitted in this catalogue of advantages. Our seamen, taught from their early infancy to "buffet the waves," are the best and most intrepid of any in Europe; while in respect to our ships, now built after the finest models of other nations, and rigged in a manner peculiar to ourselves, we may justly boast of a decisive superiority.

It would be a curious subject to trace the history of their construction, and enumerate their tonnage, swelling by almost imperceptible degrees from the man of war, no bigger than a Gravesend hoy in the time of Alfred, to the size of a collier in the days of

Henry

Henry VII. and of an Indiaman in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Cinque ports, where the merchants chiefly embarked in foreign commerce resided, are to be considered as the dock-yards of former times ; for it was from them that our kings in periods of emergency were supplied with their navy. It is recorded to the glory of Edward IV. that he possessed several vessels of war of his own ; while “ the maiden queen,” exclusive of those hired by her orders, could boast of a navy of about twenty-six “ ships royal.” But what an immense difference is there in point of size and expence between the “ Great Harry” of a former period, which cost fourteen thousand pounds in the reign of Henry VII. and a first-rate of the present day, carrying one hundred and twenty guns, manned by twelve or fourteen hundred seamen and marines, and spreading out whole acres of canvas to catch the gale, so as to bring this floating castle within gun-shot of the enemy !

It is our naval power that in every age has constituted the pride, the glory, and the defence of the British isles ; and it is by this alone that we are to rise or fall in the scale of nations. In the early periods of our history we combated with various success the freebooters of the north, who invaded our coasts, and made predatory incursions against the inhabitants. At length, by means of a superior fleet, we ourselves unfurled the English cross on the opposite shores of the continent, and obtained a variety of important conquests, of which the little isles of Guernsey and

Jersey alone still appertain to us. Spain, which, by the policy and good-fortune of Charles V., had become the most formidable power in Europe, braved us in vain, during the reign of his son, with her numerous armada. The Dutch also, under the auspices of a Van Tromp and a De Ruyter, attempted without effect to obtain the mastery over us; for notwithstanding they were aided by the genius of a De Witt,\* they failed; nor have the French, although commanding such an extensive line of sea-coast, and possessed of so many local advantages, been able to cope with us in our proper element.

If it be inquired by what magic we have achieved this, the answer is obvious; our victories have sprung out of our freedom. It is those just and equal laws which regulate persons and property by the rule of right, that have made us what we are. It is they, that, by conferring security, † have expanded the wings of commerce to every breeze, and nerved the arms of our sturdy islanders with redoubled strength; it is they, that, by adding to the resources, have multiplied the strength of the country, and enabled us more than once to bid defiance to all the great maritime powers of Europe.

Under these auspicious circumstances, a wonderful race of men has been reared or rather created: in one age, a Drake and a Raleigh; in another, an Anson

\* "Strongest by sea, strongest by land," was a favourite maxim of this great statesman.

† "La liberté politique dans un citoyen est cette tranquillité d'esprit qui provient de l'opinion que chacun a de sa sûreté."

*De l'Esprit des Loix.*

and a Hawke; while of late years a whole galaxy has been spread above the nautical horizon, which will sparkle for ages with the names of a Duncan, a Hood, a Howe, a St. Vincent, and a Nelson.

George Keith Elphinstone, Baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal in the county of Kincardin, North Britain, was born about the year 1747 or 1748. The Elphinstones, like the Gordons, the Frasers, the Sinclairs, and a number of other great northern families, are supposed to have come originally from the continent. The ancestor of this nobleman was a German of the name of Elvington, who having repaired to Scotland during the reign of Robert I. resolved to settle in that country. He accordingly married Margaret, daughter of Sir Christopher Seton; a lady who was related to the royal family, and appears either to have been an heiress, or to have obtained crown lands by way of dower, in the fertile shire of Lothian, which her husband called after his own name.\* From this chief, usually considered as the founder of the family, descended Alexander, who in the 33d year of David II.† exchanged his estate of Kinchibar with Alexander, the son of Adam More, for the lands of Arthberg, in the county of Stirling, which were called Elphinston, and became the residence of his descendants.

Sir Alexander, one of these, was created a baron in 1509, and the title has descended in regular succession during many generations. Charles, the tenth

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\* Now changed into the appellation of *Elvington*. † 1362.

Lord Elphinstone, married Clementina, only daughter of John Earl of Wigton, by whom he had a numerous family. George Keith,\* the subject of this memoir, was the fifth son; and as the profession of arms is the *appanage*, and not unfrequently the only one, which the younger male branches of the Caledonian nobility can claim, it was determined, as his eldest brother was to have the *land*, that he should seek for fortune and employment from the *sea*.

The Scots have always been considered as a military nation; and their reputation in this point of view had long been established in the armies of the continental princes, before a generous policy, first pointed out by the late Earl of Chatham, gave a new direction to their youth both at home and abroad. But although they were ~~allowed~~ to excel in the land service, they seldom applied themselves to naval affairs; for until of late the commerce of that part of the island was inconsiderable, and none of their sovereigns had ever maintained any establishment in the shape of a navy. It is not a little remarkable however, that the family of which we now treat, for upwards of half a century has devoted itself to the sea service, and produced a number of most excellent officers.

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\* Lord Keith's great uncle, Marischal Keith, was one of the favourite generals of Frederick II. king of Prussia. This celebrated officer was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Scotland, to whose honour it ought to be recorded, that, with a degree of munificence befitting a sovereign house, they founded the college of New Aberdeen, which is still called by their name, in 1539.

It was to this profession that Mr. Keith Elphinstone was destined. Notwithstanding the melancholy fate of an elder brother, George, who was lost in the Prince George in 1758, he was stationed on board a king's ship, and taught at an early age to contend with the three boisterous elements, fire, air, and water.

The quarter-deck of a man of war may justly be considered as a national school for the instruction of a numerous portion of our youth; there it is that they acquire a habit of discipline, and become instructed in all the interesting minutiae of the service. Punctuality, cleanliness, diligence, and dispatch, are regularly inculcated, and such a habit of sobriety and even of self-denial acquired, that cannot fail to prove highly useful. By learning to *obey*, they are also taught betimes how to *command*; and it becomes daily more necessary indeed, that a lad who, like many others, may hereafter attain the rank of post-captain in the service before he is three-and-twenty years of age perhaps, should either be endowed with, or enabled at least to acquire, some small degree of discretion. By the regulations of our naval code, a most extraordinary latitude in respect to power and responsibility are attached to the command of a ship; for no less than five or six hundred of his fellow-men are placed under the absolute superintendence, control, and disposal of a single officer. It were to be wished therefore, as most of these enter the service while mere boys, and before their education has been completed, that attention were paid not only to their

morals

morals and discipline, but also to their attainments while *afloat*. A schoolmaster is allowed in all ships of a certain rate, but we are sorry to observe that the pay is far from being commensurate to the labours of any man of merit : a reasonable increase, in respect to remuneration, therefore, is here earnestly suggested to those who have the good of the service at heart. Indeed, notwithstanding this evident discouragement to the undertaking, several of our commanders have paid attention to so necessary a regulation ; and the author of this article could mention the names of two admirals, who, much to their honour, while captains, made it their daily study to inquire into the progress of the young gentlemen placed on their quarter-deck.

After serving his due time, Mr. Elphinstone found the little *patch* of white on his collar and cuffs increase wonderfully in size ; for at the expiration of the usual period he was appointed a lieutenant, an event which forms a remarkable epoch in the life of a young sailor, and entitles him to lapels and an epaulet.

In 1773 we find him serving as a master and commander in the Mediterranean, under Rear Admiral Sir Peter Dennis ; on which occasion he was promoted into the *Scorpion* of fourteen guns, and two years after he deemed himself fortunate by being nominated post-captain.

He now aspired to distinctions of another kind ; for at the general election in 1774, Captain Elphinstone stood as candidate for the county of Dumbar-ton, in which his family possessed considerable prop-  
erty

perty and influence: and on his rival's being returned knight of the shire, he presented a petition to the House of Commons; from a committee of which, according to the most excellent provisions in Mr. Grenville's bill, he demanded and obtained justice. In 1780 he again represented that county; and was one of the independent members who met at the St. Alban's tavern with a view of reconciling Mr. Pitt, then minister, with Mr. Fox and the Duke of Portland, the latter being at that period in opposition, and by an union of parties forming what was termed at that day a "broad bottomed administration." It is almost unnecessary to add, that their labours proved unsuccessful.

At the general election in 1786 he was chosen for Stirlingshire, so that he sat during a large portion of three following parliaments.

Previously to this he married\* a countrywoman of his own; Jane, daughter and sole heiress of William Mercer, of Aldie in the county of Perth, Esq. who died in 1789: and by which lady he has a daughter, the Honourable Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, on whom his English and Irish baronies are entailed, and who also possesses a very large fortune in right of her mother.

During the colonial war, Captain Elphinstone served in America, and was present at the attack of Mud-island and Charlestown. Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, having shifted his flag from the *Europa* of sixty-four guns to the *Roebuck* of forty-four, proceeded from

---

\* April 9, 1787.

New York with a squadron of ships of war, to co-operate with Sir Henry Clinton in an attempt to subjugate the \* capital of South Carolina. On this occasion, Captain Elphinstone's pennant was flying in the little detachment; and on the requisition of the General for some heavy cannon from the fleet, the same were landed with a detachment of seamen under him and Captain Evans of the Raleigh. In 1778 he commanded the Berwick of seventy-four guns in the action off Brest, and had ten men killed, and eleven wounded on that occasion.

In 1781 we find him on board the Warwick of fifty guns and three hundred men. On his passage down Channel he fell in with, and captured the Rotterdam, a Dutch ship of war of exactly the same number of guns and seamen, which had been before ineffectually engaged by the Isis, also a fifty-gun ship.

In 1782 he served once more in America. Being on a cruise off the Delaware, in company with the Lion, the Vestal, and Bonnette, after a chase of several hours, he came up with and captured a large French frigate named L'Aigle, of forty guns, twenty-

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\* He distinguished himself on this occasion (Nov. 15, 1777), when the following ships being detached for that purpose, a free communication was opened with Philadelphia by water :

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Somerset	70	Captain George Curry.
Isis	50	Hon. W. Cornwallis.
Pearl -	32	Hon. G. K. Elphinstone.
Liverpool -	28	Henry Bellew.
Vigilant A. S. 20, and two small vessels.		

four-pounders, on the main deck, and six hundred men, commanded by the Count de la Touche ; who made his escape on shore with the Baron de Viomisinil, commander-in-chief of the French army in America, together with M. de la Montmorency, the Duc de Lausun, the Vicomte de Fleury, and several other officers of high rank. They took in the boat with them the greater part of the treasure which was on board the frigate, but two small casks and two boxes fell into the hands of the captors. La Gloire, another French frigate in company, made her escape by drawing less water ; an armed merchantman called La Sophie, of twenty-two guns and one hundred and four men, was however taken, and two brigs destroyed ; while L'Aigle, proving to be an excellent vessel, was purchased by government, and added to the royal navy.

Such had been the exploits of this officer during the American war, and the contest with France opened a new field for his valour and exertions.

On the commencement of hostilities Captain Elphinstone was appointed to the Robuste of 74 guns, and having been placed under the command of Lord Hood, sailed with him to the Mediterranean. This nobleman, who has always been deemed one of the ablest admirals in the British service, was now engaged in a project of no small importance. While the south of France had been a prey by turns to terror and insurrection, the combined fleet of England and Spain menaced her departments in that quarter, cut off the supplies of corn and provisions, and in-

fused

fused new hopes into the minds of the malecontents. After negotiating with the inhabitants of Marseilles and Toulon, the British admiral issued a notice in which he stated : “ that if a candid and explicit declaration was made in favour of monarchy in these places, the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the ports and forts placed at his disposal, the people of Provence should enjoy the protection of his Britannic Majesty’s fleet, and not an atom of private property be touched.” He also published a proclamation to the same effect ; and after stating the anarchy and misery of the inhabitants, he concluded with observing : “ that he had come to offer them the assistance of the force with which he was furnished by his sovereign, in order to spare the further effusion of human blood, to crush with promptitude the factious, to re-establish a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe.”

The inhabitants of Marseilles were prevented from accepting of these terms by the approach of a republican army ; but the sections of Toulon immediately proclaimed Louis XVII. and promised by a deputation “ that the moment the English squadron cast anchor in the road, the white flag should be hoisted, the ships of war disarmed, and the citadel and forts on the coast placed *provisionally* at the disposal of the British admiral.”

Notwithstanding these professions, a large portion of the people, and also of the sailors, was not a little mortified at the idea of such a surrender. Rear Admiral

miral Trogoff, indeed, declared in favour of these conditions ; but Admiral St. Julien, who had been recently invested with the chief command, together with the crews of seven of the ships, for some time exhibited a spirited although ineffectual resistance. They were accordingly forced to yield ; and on August 28, 1793, the English obtained possession of Toulon, of which Rear Admiral Goodall was declared governor, and Rear Admiral Gravina, *commandant* of the troops. But as it became necessary to take possession of the forts which commanded the ships in the road before the fleet could enter, fifteen hundred men were previously landed under Captain George Keith Elphinstone ; who, after effecting this service, was ordered to assume the command of the whole, as governor of Fort Malgue.

But the English in their turn were at length fated to be exposed to all the sudden changes incident to a state of warfare. A few days after their arrival, General Carteaux, at the head of a detachment of the republican army, which had lately taken possession of Marseilles, and routed the troops raised by the associated departments, appeared on the heights near Toulon. As he was only accompanied by an advanced guard of seven hundred and fifty men, and ten pieces of cannon, the governor of Fort Malgue placed himself at the head of six hundred British and Spanish troops, with which he marched out, put the enemy to the rout, and seized their artillery, ammunition, horses, together with two stands of colours, &c. &c.

On

On the first of October the combined British, Spanish, and Neapolitan forces, under the command of Lord Mulgrave, Captain Elphinstone, and Rear Admiral Gravina, also obtained a complete victory at the heights of Pharon over a detachment of the French army, consisting of nearly two thousand men; of whom about one thousand five hundred were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, during their precipitate retreat. The loss on the side of the allies amounted to only eight killed, seventy-two wounded, two missing, and forty-eight taken prisoners.

But the enemy soon recovered from these defeats; and a body of about fifteen thousand men having been assembled, they obtained possession of several out-posts, and seized on the heights of Cape Brun. On the junction of the victorious army, which had lately captured Lyons, they at length threatened storm the forts: and by the aid of Buonaparte, then an obscure officer of artillery, found means to carry some, and annoy all our posts.

It was therefore reluctantly determined, in a general council of war, that Toulon was no longer tenable; measures were accordingly adopted for the immediate evacuation of the town and arsenal, as well as for the destruction of the ships of war. In the evening of the 18th of December, the artillery, stores, and troops, in consequence of this, were embarked, together with several thousand of the French royalists, without the loss of a single man. This important service was conducted with singular success, under the judicious management of Captain George Keith

Keith Elphinstone, assisted by the Captains Hallowell and Matthews ; and it is to their unremitting efforts that many of the inhabitants were indebted for an asylum.

Having returned to England with a convoy in 1794, Captain Elphinstone was honoured with the order of the Bath as a reward for his services : and in the autumn of the same year we find him cruising in the Channel fleet, then commanded by Earl Howe, with J. Elphinstone as his captain ; bearing a flag as rear-admiral of the white, on board the *Barfleur*,\* having been promoted to that rank July 4, 1794. They continued at sea during the greater part of the winter ; but returned occasionally to Spithead, Torbay, and Plymouth, to refit and water.

We have hitherto beheld the subject of this memoir acting under the command of others, but we are now to contemplate him in a different situation.

Early in 1795, Sir George Keith Elphinstone was entrusted with an important expedition ; and a squadron having been previously fitted out for him, he hoisted his flag as a rear-admiral of the white, on board the *Monarch* of seventy-four guns, and sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on the second of April.

Having arrived early in July in Simon's Bay, near the Cape, he immediately transmitted intimation of this event to the Dutch governor, M. Van Sluysken ; whom

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\* Sir George Keith Elphinstone succeeded to the command of this ship in the room of Vice Admiral Bowyer, who was wounded during the action of the 1st of June.

he earnestly entreated, at the same time, to spare the effusion of human blood, by placing the settlement under the protection of the King of Great Britain, the friend and ally of his serene highness the Stadtholder. But notwithstanding a written order is said to have been enclosed from the Prince of Orange, his Excellency peremptorily refused to accede to this proposition, and immediately ordered the inhabitants of Simon's town to retire from, after setting fire to, their habitations.

But this was prevented by Major-general Craig; who having on the fourteenth landed with four hundred and fifty of the seventy-eighth regiment, and three hundred and fifty marines from the squadron, precluded a measure that must have been attended with no small inconvenience on the part of the invaders as well as of the settlers.

In the mean time, the admiral and general perceiving that they must expect the most determined resistance, abandoned all further ideas of negotiation, and prepared for vigorous operations. Having learned that the Dutch militia and Hottentots occupied a strong pass at Muissenberg, and finding their own patrols annoyed by the enemy, who had taken post on the adjacent hills, it was determined to dislodge them immediately. Accordingly a detachment of seamen having been landed, and a gun-boat fitted out, together with a number of launches mounted with carronades, Commodore Blanket, who had lately joined the fleet, proceeded, August 7, with the *America*, *Stately*, *Echo*, and *Rattlesnake* sloops, which

which were preceded by the flotilla alluded to above. Luckily this naval force, from the situation of the place, was enabled to act efficaciously: for the ships, after intimidating the enemy so much as to abandon two advanced posts mounted with heavy cannon, arrived opposite the camp; and commenced a decisive fire, which obliged the Dutch to fly with such precipitation, as to enable Major-general Craig to seize a portion of their artillery.

On the next day the enemy collected a large force, and endeavoured to regain their former position, but they were repulsed, and the seamen and marines upon this occasion conducted themselves with equal courage and conduct.

Notwithstanding this failure, an attack of the British camp was determined upon: but just as they had begun their march they discovered fourteen sail of East Indiamen, on the morning of the third of September, which, fortunately for the success of the expedition, had on board a considerable body of troops, under Major-general Alured Clarke, who was originally destined to command the land forces. Intimidated by this unexpected succour, they immediately dispersed, while the admiral and general, encouraged by so timely a reinforcement, determined to put an end to the contest by an immediate attack on the Cape town.

The troops and artillery having been accordingly landed, on the fourteenth of September the army began its march, each man carrying four days provision in his haversack. Commodore Blanket at the same

time effected a diversion, by sailing with a detachment of the fleet into Table Bay; and at eleven o'clock the same evening the governor requested a cessation of arms. In consequence of this a negotiation immediately took place; and the colony was surrendered two days afterwards to Great Britain. On this occasion five Dutch East Indiamen, the Star armed brig, and property to a considerable amount, fell to the share of the conquerors. While the Vice Admiral lay in a convenient bay refitting his squadron in the beginning of August, he received intelligence that several ships had been seen off Saldanha. On this he made preparations for proceeding to sea, but it was the sixth before he could quit his anchorage, and between that period and the twelfth he searched for the supposed enemy in vain, notwithstanding two fast sailing vessels had been dispatched in quest of them. Having then returned to his former station, and obtained exact information relative to the position of the strange ships, he determined to proceed once more in search of the foe, and he accordingly made the signal for the squadron to weigh; but the wind, which was then strong, having increased to a tempest, he was obliged to defer his intentions until the fifteenth: he however arrived off Saldanha bay next evening exactly at sunset. The Crescent of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain Buller, which had been sent to reconnoitre, immediately made the signal for discovering the enemy, on which Sir George Keith, who soon after perceived that they were moored in the bay, and inferior to his own squadron, both

both in point of force and numbers, immediately entered, and anchored within cannon-shot.\*

On this a negotiation immediately ensued, and Rear Admiral Lucas having pledged his honour that

\* The following is a list of the English and Dutch squadron in Saldanha bay, August 15 1796.

Vice Admiral Elphinstone's squadron.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
1 Monarch	74	612	{ Hon. Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. Capt. John Elphinstone.
2 America	64	491	Commodore Blanket.
3 Ruby	64	491	Capt. J. Waller.
4 Stately	64	491	— Billy Douglas.
5 Sceptre	64	491	— Wm. Essington.
6 Trident	64	491	— Edw. O. Osborne.
7 Tremendous	74	550	{ Thomas Pringle, Esq. Rear Admiral of the Red. Captain John Aylmer.
8 Jupiter	50	343	— Edw. Lossack.
9 Crescent	36	264	— Edw. Baller.
10 Sphynx	24	155	— And. Todd.
11 Moselle	16	121	— Charles Bristow.
12 Rattlesnake	16	121	— Edw. Ramage.
13 Echo	16	121	— John Turner.
14 Hope	14	115	— Thomas Alexander.

Commodore Lucas's squadron.

1 Dordrecht	66	370	Rear Admiral Lucas.
2 Revolution	66	400	Capt. Rheubender.
3 Admiral Tienza	54	280	— Valkenberg.
4 Carther	44	240	— Clarisse.
5 Braave	40	234	— Zoetmans.
6 Bellona	28	130	— Valk.
7 Sirene	26	130	— De Cerf.
8 Havicke	20	76	— Rezemar.
9 Maria, a store ship.			

none of the ships or stores should be injured during the night, on the succeeding morning the Dutch capitulated.

After having thus contributed to the reduction of a most important colony, and captured a squadron sent for its defence, as well as detached a sufficient force to Colombo, Sir George Keith Elphinstone sailed for England, leaving the command of the fleet to Admiral Pringle. On his arrival, December the twenty-second, at Crookhaven, having learned that a French squadron had been seen off Bantry bay, he prepared to put to sea with the *Monarch* and *Daphne*, but by this time the enemy had returned to their own ports.

The capture of the Cape of Good Hope not only prevented that useful settlement from falling into the hands of the French, but secured an intermediate station between our European and Eastern dominions. This was considered as an acquisition of such consequence that the greatest care was taken for its safety, and no expence spared for its defence. Indeed one of the ministers\* of that day declared openly, that whenever a peace took place, this colony ought on no account to be surrendered, as it had become indispensably necessary for the convenience, and even for the preservation, of our territories in Asia.

The cabinet was so well pleased with the conduct of Sir George on this occasion, that on the 7th of March, 1797, he was created an Irish peer, by the

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\* Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville.

title of Baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal. His lordship, nearly at the same period, joined the Channel fleet, then commanded for the second time by Lord Bridport, but as the enemy did not deem it prudent to make their appearance, no event of any consequence occurred.

A new and a more active scene soon after presented itself.

In November 1798, Admiral Lord Keith hoisted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*, and sailed for the Mediterranean; in 1799 he removed into the *Barfleur*, and thence into the *Royal Charlotte*, with which he returned to England in September, but sailed to his former station two months afterwards.

On the morning of the 4th of May, being then at anchor off Cadiz with fifteen sail of the line, he discovered the French fleet, which had eluded the vigilance of Lord Bridport, at some distance to windward, steering for the land with a favourable gale. Notwithstanding his manifest inferiority,\* the Vice-

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\* List of the English squadron, May 4, 1799, when the French fleet appeared off Cadiz:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
1 <i>Barfleur</i>	80	640	{ Vice-Admiral Lord Keith, K. B. Capt. Stephenson.
2 <i>Prince George</i>	98	738	{ Vice-Admiral Sir Wm. Parker, Bart. Capt. Bingham.
3 <i>Gibraltar</i>	80	640	Capt. Kelly.
4 <i>Foudroyant</i>	80	719	— Brown.
5 <i>Warrior</i>	74	590	— Tyler.
6 <i>Princess Royal</i>	98	738	— Dixon.
7 <i>Ville de Paris</i>	100	839	— Bathurst.
			C 3
			8 Marlborough

Admiral immediately weighed and offered battle. He was surprised, however, to find, that wholly unmindful of so favourable an opportunity, the enemy did not make an attempt to enter the bay, and join the Spaniards; yet being determined to follow wherever they might steer, his lordship chased to windward, but at daybreak next morning only four sail were to be seen, the rest having separated during a hard gale in the night.

After pursuing these without effect, he returned to his station, and on the 9th, suspecting that the enemy had passed the Straits, he first anchored at Gibraltar, and then cruised off Cape Dell Mell. Having by this time learned that the French were at anchor in Vado bay, he determined to attack them there; but Earl St. Vincent, who had received intelligence that the Spaniards meditated a descent on Minorca, immediately dispatched him to the relief of that island. In the mean time, the French commander reached Carthagea, where he was soon after joined by Admiral Massaredo, with five ships of 112 guns each, one eighty, and eleven seventy-fours, together with the following flag-officers, viz. Gravina, Grandillana, Cordova, Nava, and Villavincencis.

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Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
8 Marlborough	74	590	Capt. Sotheby.
9 Hector	74	590	— J. Elphinstone.
10 Northumberland	74	640	— Martin.
11 Namur	90	738	— Luke
12 Defence	74	590	— Paulet.
13 Majestic	74	590	— Hope.
14 Montague	74	590	— Knight.
15 London	98	738	— Purvis.

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The Vice-Admiral on this collected his whole force, and proceeded in quest of the combined fleet, but on his arrival off Cadiz, he learned from one of his cruizers, that they had sailed for Brest on the twenty-first of July, and on his repairing thither, found that they had entered that port only five hours before! After this long and unsuccessful pursuit, his lordship steered for England; but his cruize did not prove upon the whole unfortunate, for on the nineteenth of June, a part of his squadron, consisting of the Centaur, Bellona, Santa Teresa, and Emerald, captured a forty-gun ship, a frigate, and three small armed vessels bound from Jaffa to Toulon,\* commanded by Rear-Admiral Perrée.

Towards the latter end of the same year, we find Lord Keith once more in Gibraltar, but with his flag on board the Queen Charlotte of 100 guns, Earl St. Vincent having resigned the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean to him and returned home.

Early in the year 1800, his Lordship proceeded to Malta, and cruized off the port of La Valetta, to intercept any succours that might be attempted to be thrown in during the blockade. In order more completely to ensure success, he ordered Lord Nelson to

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\* French Squadron.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
1 La Junon	- 40 -	500
2 L'Alceste	- 36 -	300
3 Le Courageux	- 22 -	300
4 La Salamine	- 18 -	120
5 L'Alerte	- 14 -	240
C 4		cruize

cruize to windward with three sail of the line, while he himself remained with the flag-ship and a small squadron at the mouth of the harbour. This judicious arrangement produced the capture of *Le Gene-reux* of 74 guns, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral *Perrée*, and having a number of troops on board for the relief of the place, together with a large store-ship.

In March Lord Keith issued a proclamation, declaring the ports of Toulon, Marseilles, Nice, &c. in a state of blockade; and being now determined to seize on the island of Cabrera, then in possession of the French, as a proper place for refreshing his men, he detached Captain Todd with the *Queen Charlotte* for that purpose; but when within sight of Leghorn, where his lordship then was, that noble vessel was discovered to be on fire, and soon after perished in her own flames.

After this, which may almost be termed a national loss, the *Audacious* first, and then the *Foudroyant*, received the Vice-Admiral's flag, and he proceeded with the latter of these to Genoa, in order to co-operate with the Austrians, who were at that time besieging it. He not only bombarded the city repeatedly, but carried off the principal galley in the port.

It being now determined to strike a mortal blow at Spain, orders were sent from England for collecting ships and troops for that purpose. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of September, Admiral Lord Keith repaired with the fleet to Gibraltar, and  
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the transports with Sir James Pulteney's division of troops having joined the forces commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, amounting in all to about eighteen thousand effective men, the squadron passed the Straits, and entered the bay of Cadiz, a city at that time visited with a malady which in many respects resembled, and in the extent of its ravages equalled, the plague.\* No sooner had the detachment, consisting of three eighty and four seventy-four gun ships, come to anchor, than the governor, Don Thomas de Merla, in a most energetic letter addressed to the admiral, after exposing the unhappy situation of the inhabitants, proceeds as follows: "I have too exalted an opinion of the English people, and of you in particular, to think that you would wish to render our situation more deplorable; but if in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to draw down upon your country the execration of all nations, and to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence; I declare to you that the gar-

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\* While stationed there, Dec. 21, 1799, Mr. Bainbridge, one of his lieutenants, with the barge of the Queen Charlotte and sixteen men, performed a very gallant action. The Lady Nelson cutter having been seen engaged with some privateers and gun vessels, off Cabareta Point, this officer was dispatched to encourage her resistance until the arrival of some of the ships of the squadron. Finding, however, that she had been captured in the mean time, he boarded and retook her, on which occasion he received a severe sabre wound during the skirmish.

rison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make a resistance which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope," adds he, "that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and vengeance."

A regular correspondence now ensued, and squally weather coming on, the Admiral and General at length deemed it proper to depart, without effecting a descent, although the plan of, and orders for, debarkation had been already concluded upon and issued. It is not, however, without pain we are forced to record, that something in the conduct of the governor gave umbrage to the court of Madrid, in consequence of which he was recalled and disgraced, a circumstance not at all surprising, as an absolute is always a capricious government.

Soon after this, the eyes of England and of Europe were turned towards Egypt, while the French army there, in consequence of the abandonment of Bonaparte, was reduced to such a critical situation, that Kleber at length entered into a treaty with Sir Sidney Smith, and actually consented to abandon that country for ever. Lord Keith, however, no sooner received information of this event, than he frankly informed their commander in chief, that he could not consent to any capitulation, unless the troops would lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war.

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This declaration was immediately published in the orders issued to the troops, on which, taking advantage of their enthusiasm, the Turks were once more attacked and beaten; so that when instructions arrived to accede to the convention of *El Arisch*, the enemy, who by this time were flushed with new victories, declined any longer to accept that as a favour which they would have joyfully consented to before.

At length it was determined to wrest Egypt from the hands of the French by force; and while Sir Ralph Abercrombie was nominated to the command of the expedition by land, Lord Keith was entrusted with the fleet which was assembled for that purpose. The armament destined for this expedition accordingly repaired to Marmorice, on purpose to wait for the co-operation of the Turks; and having sailed from that capacious port on the 22d of February 1801, anchored in the bay of Aboukir on the 22d of March, near to the very spot on which the memorable battle of the Nile had been fought. The following is a list of the fleet employed upon this occasion:

1 Foudroyant	80	{ Admiral Lord Keith. John Elphinstone, Captain of the fleet.
2 Ajax	80	{ Capt. J. C. Searle. Capt. the Hon. A. Cochrane.
3 Tigre	80	— Sir Wm. Sidney Smith.
4 Swiftsure	74	{ Rear Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Capt. B. Hallowell.
5 Kent	74	— W. Hope.

6 Minotaur

6 Minotaur	74	Capt. T. Louis.
7 Northumberland	74	— George Martin.
*8 Flora	36	— B. G. Middleton.

The army, to the amount of sixteen thousand one hundred and fifty men, together with a battalion of one thousand seamen under Sir Sidney Smith, could not be landed so soon as intended, on account of a heavy swell; but the most effectual means were taken for that purpose; and not only written orders were issued, but a coloured plan of the debarkation, such as had been issued before at Cadiz, exactly specifying the number and stations of the vessels intended to convey and cover the troops, was distributed.

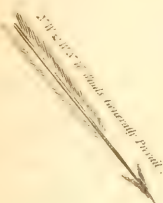
About two o'clock in the morning of the 8th of March, the first division began to enter the boats destined to receive them; at three signal rockets were fired, in consequence of which they all rendezvoused opposite the Mendovi, an armed vessel anchored on purpose, in a central position, near to the beach. At nine they advanced towards the shore, preserving the form of a line as much as possible, under the direction of the Honourable Captain Cochrane, and seconded by the captains Stevenson, Scott, Larmour, Apthorp, and Harrison, with both flanks protected by cutters, gun-boats, and armed

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\* In addition to these there were two sixty-fours, two fifties, five forty-fours, two thirty-eights, two thirty-sixes, four thirty-twos, and six twenty-eights, armed *en flûte*, together with two bomb-vessels, transports, Turkish gun-boats and kiacks, &c.

launches,

Plan  
of the  
Intended Attack  
on **CADIZ** by  
Lord Keith & S<sup>r</sup> R. Abercromby,  
in 1800.

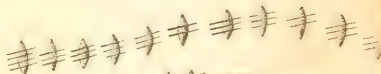


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in 1800.

REFERENCE.

- A. B. Line of Battle Ships.
- C. D. The larger Troop Ships.
- E. F. Small Troop Ships & Transports, round  
their respective Agents.
- G. H. Small Craft, Galleys &c.
- I. K. Victuallers, Ordnance Ships, Hospital  
Ships, & others not immediately wanted.
- L. M. Gun Boats as near as possible, to cover  
the descent.





launches, while the Tartarus and Fury bomb-ketches were employed to throw shells, and several vessels of a small draught of water presented their broadsides so as to protect and facilitate this very critical and important operation.

Opposed to these was a large body of troops, familiar with the country, confident of victory, and flushed with recent successes. Cannon and mortar batteries were placed on the heights, and the castle of Aboukir alone threatened destruction to the assailants, while the sand-hills still nearer to the water's edge were lined with musquetry, and parties of infantry were kept in readiness to advance, at the same time that bodies of horse were prepared to charge the invaders.

Notwithstanding the boats were exposed to an amphitheatre of fire, and an incessant discharge was kept up of shot, shells, and grape, yet they rowed briskly ashore, and a landing being effected, the adjoining hill was scaled, and seven pieces of artillery seized.

It is not a little remarkable, that during the whole of this gallant and very perilous operation not a single officer belonging to the navy was killed, and only seven officers and seventy-three men wounded. The battalion of sailors continued to be of great service while on shore, and the capture both of Cairo and Alexandria depended not a little on the co-operation of the navy.

A multitude of honours were now preparing for  
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the man who had contributed to render the British name illustrious, and the British possessions secure in the East. In the first place he received what every officer has been accustomed to deem highly valuable—the thanks of both houses of parliament for his services. In the next, he was presented with the order of the crescent, established on purpose to record the gratitude of the Grand Signior; while his own sovereign conferred upon him the patent of an English peerage, as Lord Keith, of Dumleath.\*

At the peace of 1802 he returned to England, and struck his flag, but he was not suffered to remain long unemployed, for in 1803 his lordship was appointed port-admiral at Plymouth; he then was invested with the command at the Nore, at the breaking out of the present war, and is now admiral of the North Sea fleet, which has increased lately in point of numbers and importance, so as to consist of more than one hundred and twenty pennants, partly on account of the additional preparations of the French, and partly from the still more formidable threats of the Dutch.†

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\* His lordship also received the freedom of the city of London, enclosed in a gold box. Previously to this he obtained a patent as chamberlain, secretary, and keeper of the signet, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as great steward of Scotland; in addition to which he is one of the six state counsellors for the same.

† His flag, which was formerly hoisted first on board the *Monarch*, and then the *St. Alban's*, is now flying in the *Agincourt*.

His lordship has lately purchased East Cliffe, a beautiful marine villa, within sight of the French coast, where he occasionally resides during the summer. It was built by the late Bond Hopkins, who may be considered as possessing a peculiar *gusto* for matters of this sort, having erected two at the expence of about seventy thousand pounds, with a degree of taste never as yet surpassed by any man in this island.

We have thus commenced the labours of another year by recapitulating the exploits of one of our most celebrated admirals, who has served under a Dennis, a Keppel, a Howe, a Hood, and a Bridport. It has always been our ambition to present the defenders of their country to the admiration of their compatriots; and it is now our fervent wish, that this gallant commander may long continue to enjoy the confidence of the nation and the smiles of the monarch.\*

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Lord Melville was on board the former ship during the attempt against Boulogne, respecting which the commander in-chief expressed himself in a very guarded manner. Although acquainted with, he also appears to have had nothing to do with the stone expedition.

\* His lordship was appointed captain, March 11, 1773; a rear admiral April 2, 1794; a vice admiral, June 1, 1795; and an admiral of the blue, January 1, 1801.

## THE HON. MRS. DAMER.

Hoc erat in votis : modus agri non ita magnus,  
 Hortus ubi, & tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons,  
 Et paulum sylvæ super his foret. Auctiùs atque  
 Dî meliùs fecere. Bene est : nihil ampliùs oro,  
 Matâ nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis.—HOR.

THE task of retracing the steps of a lovely and accomplished woman, through the tranquil and flowery paths of domestic life, must at all times be an agreeable employment ; but when the object of investigation is Mrs. Damer, the occupation becomes delightful ; and her biographer turns with eagerness from the records of politics and the sword, to be led into a service, which introduces him to beauty, peace, and the muses.

Many illustrious names, besides that of the heroine of this biographical sketch, might be registered in the list of female worthies. We have several British Andromaches, who need not shrink from a comparison with the amiable widow of Hector.

The Princess of Wales, in her retirement at Blackheath, draws around her an assembly of poets, sages, and heroes, by the magic movement of her chisel alone. There the noble Caroline of Brunswick converses with the mighty dead ; and while she holds “ converse ” with the Stuarts and Plantagenets (whose images her own Promethean flame has reanimated with life), she feels no longer solitary, no longer a  
 pensive

pensive recluse; but sees herself (the daughter of heroes!) in the presence of ancestors who seem to smile upon her virtues, to glory in her genius, and to prophesy her future happiness and honours.

It would be the business of a summer-day to recount the names and occupations of all the ladies of high rank who have devoted themselves to English industry, taste, and usefulness.

The Princess Royal (now the Duchess of Wirtemberg) is one of the best engravers in Europe; many of her works embellish the walls of Buckingham-house, Frogmore lodge, and St. James's palace. The drawings of the Princess Elizabeth are generally esteemed for justness of design, and grace in execution. The verses of Sir J. B. Burges (the author of the heroic poem called "Richard the First") have been emblazoned by the pencil of her Royal Highness.—Lady Spencer, Lady Temple, Lady Amherst, Lady Henry Fitzgerald, and many others, are likewise successful votaries to the muse of the graphic art. We may also boast several very bright female titles in the walks of poesy; and at the head of them we will inscribe that of the Duchess of Devonshire. One beautiful poem by her Grace is in the libraries of most people, who, if they have sensibility to feel the soft associations of domestic affection, and taste to appreciate elegant versification and accurate imagery, must say with delight—

"On Gothard's hill eternal wreaths shall grow,

"While lasts the mountain, or while Ruesse shall flow."

With such amiable and animating sisters of Par-

nassus, Mrs. Damer has been accustomed to pass her hours from earliest infancy. Apollo and the Nine seemed to preside at her birth. Her mother was the beautiful and accomplished widow of the Earl Aylesbury. This lady, some time after the death of her lord (who was many years her senior), married the late Field-Marshal Conway, to whom she bore the fair subject of our history. Miss Conway, with a very lovely person, and great vivacity of mind and spirits, inherited all her mother's uncommon fascination of manners, to which she added a grace of deportment entirely her own; and a pathos of elocution that took the heart captive, and subdued all the senses to her controul. When her father, a veteran worthy of the soil which gave him birth, could no longer reap laurels in the field of honour, he buried his sword beneath the roses of literary glory.

General Conway lived on terms of intimacy with all the men of genius and taste who were his contemporaries: it would be impertinent to enumerate them, for there is scarcely a name of eminence in the senate, the camp, or the navy, that might not be ranged under the different classes of his kinsmen, friends, and acquaintance.

The Honourable Horatio Walpole (the late Earl of Orford) was one of the General's oldest friends. He was early struck with the dawning genius of Miss Conway; and did every thing that lay in the power of friendship, cultivated taste, and polished society, to render the young lady as complete in every classical perfection of the mind, as nature had already made

made her in person. She soon became mistress of the minor graces, of needlework, dancing, singing, and music. But the bent of her abilities was turned (by the direction of a charming emulation, and love of laudable distinction) upon achieving those acquirements in the sciences and sublimer arts, which are only to be won by close attention, deep study, and constant exercise.

In a short time Miss Conway was regarded with eyes of admiration by persons of all ages, ranks, and situations. Mothers proposed her as a model for their daughters; and daughters, not knowing how to envy what engaged their love, tried to copy her plan of life, her looks, her manners, nay, even her dress; for Miss Conway's intimate acquaintance with the costume of ancient Greece and Rome, gave her (though to herself almost unconsciously) a great pre-eminence of taste, in the fancy of her garments, over the vulgar fashions of the day.

Several men of the best families in England, and of distinguished endowments, offered themselves to General Conway as candidates for his daughter's hand. He was as much wooed for his lovely charge as ever were the guardians of any fair lady in romance: and she rejected as many sighing swains, gallant squires, gay baronets, and stately lords, as would have filled the train of Clarissa Harlowe, or afforded Harriet Byron, "the frankest woman in England!" an opportunity of trying the patience of her cousin Selby.

After the dismissal of many a lover—of some

who came in coronets, and others who laid their wreaths of laurel or willows at her feet, Miss Conway bestowed her heart and her hand on Mr. Damer, the brother of Lord Milton.

With this Gentleman she lived for some years, until a melancholy death deprived her of her husband in the bloom of life.

Mrs. Damer was long the interesting object of anxiety, attention, and consolation, to her relations and friends. But she drew little alleviation from the exertions of others; she applied to her own bosom for that comfort which religion and her just sense of its efficacy could alone afford. Nature, ever wise and provident, has endowed her creatures with capacities for various pleasures, and has opened to them many sources of delight. When fate closes one fountain, another is seen flowing at our feet; and if we do not will ourselves to perish, we may drink of the water that springs in the wilderness as well as of the river which washes the city's walls. Mrs. Damer had not only imbibed this philosophy, but knew how to reduce its precepts to practice. She determined to detach her mind as much as possible from painful retrospection; and aware that grief, as well as the tender passion, "thrives by indulgence," she dedicated all her hours to the cultivation of her talents: she read during whole days; and when that fatigued her, she took up the pencil, or applied herself to the chisel.

What Maria Cosway and Angelica Kauffman are in painting, Mrs. Damer is in sculpture. Her study,

in which the superb Jupiter, supposed to be the work of Phidias, reigns over the subordinate deities, Apollo, Venus, Minerva, and Mercury, reminds the spectator who enters it of the academies in Greece :—he sees the charming artist in the midst of ideal beauty, and imagines for a moment that the scene is changed: he believes himself to be some Praxiteles, who, though under the immediate influence of the fine enthusiasm of creative genius, yet at intervals turns his eye upon the lovely woman before him; and, by one glance at the substance of such real and living beauty, he restrains and corrects the excursive wanderings of his wild imagination. It was in this remote chamber, devoted to taste and female talent, that Mrs. Damer's "plastic hand" (as fair as the marble she touched) brought into mimic life those exquisite busts which form the most valuable ornaments of Strawberry Hill; and that noble statue of king George the Third, which embellishes the Leverian Museum.

The exhibition of the royal academicians at Somerset House, has often been enriched by the productions of her chisel; and it has been generally understood, that if there had not been an express decree of the Academy for the exclusion of female artists as members of that body, Mrs. Damer would have received a seat on the same bench with the fair Kauffman, and other ladies of a less splendid fame. Why this Salique law was enacted by the Apelles, the Zeuxis, the Lysiphus, and the Phidias, of our British school,

school, has never been explained. Certainly there is no gallantry in the ordinance, and not much justice or taste, if we look on the one hand to the abilities of our countrywoman, and on the other to that symmetry of form which might rival the models of Greece itself. Besides, there is something so preposterously ungrateful to the muse of Painting, from whom they receive all their inspiration and their art, to proscribe in this manner that sex of which her divinityship is a crown and a glory ! It is well for these gentlemen who, like the daring Ajax, do not hesitate to “defy, affront, and blaspheme” the immortals, that the present goddess is so very volatile a being as to live altogether in a *Castle in the Air* ; else we might expect to see a most mighty vengeance taken upon these her rebellious sons :—Some she would transfix with their own pencils ; others she would poison with white lead, mastich varnish, and drying oil ; and perhaps some few, by way of distinction, would find their way to “the oblivious shore” by means of the newly-invented Venetian vehicle ! Let these modern offenders of the daughter of Olympus remember what power one crystal gem gliding down the cheek of Beauty used to have upon the sympathy of the cloud-compelling Jove ! It was sufficient to drive whole navies to wreck, and to lay vast kingdoms in smoke and ashes. What then may be the fate even of a synod of painters, if half a dozen lovely eyes choose to buy its destruction with a chalice of tears ? In vain they may shield themselves

themselves behind their pallets, case themselves in sevenfold webs of canvas, and arm themselves with brushes, maw-sticks, and grinding stones :—if Venus and the Muses draw their arrows to the head, they will all perish, like the offspring of Niobe ; or be sent down the stream of ages a mingled spectacle to future generations, like so many Orpheuses, torn to pieces by the vindictive rage of Thracian furies !

The honours which were denied to the genius of Mrs. Damer by one order of men, were amply recompensed by the warm suffrages of fame which she received from other contemporary societies of talent not less high in reputation. Wherever taste, elegance, and accomplishments were prized, there she found her admirers and her friends.

The Duke of Richmond distinguished her with a very marked portion of his esteem, and obtained, with sincere satisfaction to the lovers of the drama, her assistance in his private theatricals. His Grace was always a great advocate for this beautiful “mirror of life ;” which like the magic glass in the fairy-tale, reflects those images only which are pleasing to the eye, and gracious to the heart.

Mrs. Damer’s cheerful and elegant mind entered into all the Duke’s opinions with promptitude and judgment. She treated with benevolent indulgence those common and gravitating spirits which could derive enjoyment from the frivolous pursuits of the rout, or the more sordid occupations of the card-table ; she left them with a good-natured pitying smile to their dull trifling, and turned with a festive

tive step, and soul-beaming countenance, to the lyre-resounding roof of Richmond House—to the intelligent converse of its illustrious inhabitants; or to partake in those transformations of person, air, and feeling, which brought up before the sight of the wondering and applauding audience the beings of Shakspeare, the creatures of Otway, and the charming men and women of Congreve, Centlivre, Farquhar, and the long train of our matchless comic writers.

It would be difficult in a garden of pleasure to single out the eminent objects of delight. Where all is enchanting there is no room for comparison. The music, the scenery, the splendor of the company, the charms and graces of the performers—all combined to render the spot, and the hours spent there, too delightful for language to describe—too transporting for expression, and too lovely in memory, to recollect without a mourner's regret.

Mrs. Damer was the Thalia of the scene. The inimitable grace which she displayed in personifying the wit, passion, and generous adherence to honour, in the character of Violante in "The Wonder," is yet remembered with admiration by all the spectators, who dwelt with such unalloyed delight upon the animation, delicacy, and ineffable pathos, which were pourtrayed in the contention between her and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, who supported the part of Don Felix. She was also very eminent in the comedy of "The Way to keep Him:" Mrs. Love-more was her choice; and it was very admirably coupled with the Widow Belmour of Lady Buckingham-

inghamshire (who was then Mrs. Hobart). These two ladies very often appeared in the same play; and in no characters were they more justly applauded than in those which move the plot of "The Jealous Wife:" Mrs. Damer in Lady Freeloze, and Lady Buckinghamshire in Mrs. Oakley. Indeed the acting of the latter lady, in this part, was thought to have very much resembled in judgment and manner the famous Mrs. Pritchard.

The lapse of time, and the eventful incidents which burthened every year, considerably changed the Duke of Richmond's plans: he therefore left amusement to those who cared less for the public weal, and closed the doors of his little theatre. Such self-denial might very well become a man and a senator; but Mrs. Damer had so long been the intimate associate of the comic muse and her graver sister, that she did not attempt to follow the example of her illustrious friend when he shut the gates of his house upon their doves, and prepared to enter, "caparisoned for war," the unfolded porches of the double-faced Janus.

Horace Walpole (Lord Orford), the old friend of her father, participated in all her sentiments. He deemed her friendship one of the highest honours he possessed, and her occasional visits his sweetest gratification. As she was not only a perfect modern scholar, conversant with all the celebrated authors of her own tongue, and intimate with the languages of France and Italy, but also mistress of the poets of ancient Rome in their native strains, she used

to read classical writers with his lordship ; and frequently finished the elegant pleasures of the evening with a fine Italian air, sung by her own exquisitely-modulated voice, accompanied with the harp or the piano-forte.

Strawberry Hill, a villa built in the Gothic style, by Lord Orford, in the vicinity of Twickenham, was the scene of this charming “ feast of reason and the flow of soul :” and when his lordship died, he bequeathed the place (which had been rendered doubly delightful to him by her presence) to the amiable promoter of so much happiness.

The lenient hand of time, which had dried the tears of the widow, also wiped away the drops that bedewed the grave of her venerable friend. Mrs. Damer took possession of her rural palace. Every chamber and vista in the woods, filled her with a pensive gratitude ; a chastened thankfulness of heart, which seemed to hallow the spot to the most pleasing and tender remembrances.

Here she drew around her a circle of the most select kind ; and to amuse the persons who composed it, she fitted up an elegant little theatre, for the performance of private plays. It was on this miniature stage that the comedy (which has been attributed to the pen of Lord Orford) called “ Fashionable Friends ” was first represented. Mr. Kemble, who was present during the performance, obtained permission to transplant what he thought so promising a flower to the boards of Drury Lane ; but alas ! it was a hot-house plant,  
that

that could not bear the rude blasts which it met in that quarter: it was too much of the modish *mimosa* class to suit the blunt taste of a public audience. After two representations, it shrunk back into the shade, and has been heard of no more. In fact, the author of the play, whoever he was, in his exhibition of *fashionable* manners, lifted the curtain too *high*.—*All should not be shewn that exists*. Mr. Sheridan *describes* with a delicate touch the gallantries of high life. The author of “Fashionable Friends” has *imitated* its amours; and if the gods in the gallery had not, by a lucky prescience, foreseen what was coming, and by a fortunate exertion of their prerogative, commanded the *dis*-appearance of the masquerade scene, it is difficult to guess *what might not have appeared*, to heighten the blushes of the ladies in the boxes. However, “Fashionable Friends” withdrew; and, as those of that rank generally deserve, let them be forgotten, while we once more turn our steps from the riotous verdict of a public theatre to the Arcadian groves of Strawberry Hill.

The history of this place may not be uninteresting. It was formerly a very lowly habitation, being originally (in the year 1698) the dwelling-house of the Earl of Bradford’s coachman. This man furnished it respectably, and let it into lodgings. Colley Cibber was the first that hired it; and there he wrote his comedy of “The Refusal.” It was afterwards engaged by different people of fashion, as a summer residence.

residence. Mr. Walpole purchased it in the year 1747, and metamorphosed it into what it now is. The approach to the house through a vista of pine trees; the grey walls overgrown with ivy; the Gothic spires, and antique form of the structure; give it the appearance of a monastery, and fill the beholder with a sensation of awe, which reminds him of the "white walls and silver springs" of Paraclete, "its deep solitude, and sacred cells!"

The great parlour of the house is adorned with the portraits of Sir Edward Walpole and his daughters, one of which is the present Duchess of Gloucester. The windows are enriched with painted glass, and the furniture of the room is in conformity with the religious air of the building. In other apartments are exhibited the various works of Lady Diana Beauclerk, Miss Agnes Berry, and of Mrs. Damer herself. There are also curiosities highly gratifying to the taste of the antiquary; besides many excellent paintings by old and approved artists, there is a very interesting one of an ancient date, representing the marriage of Henry the Sixth. There is also a fine bust of Henry the Seventh, by Tomegiono; and a picture of the Duchess of Suffolk and her husband Adrian Stokes, by Lucas de Heere. The gallery contains portraits of many famous British characters; among the rest are Sir Francis Walsingham, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Anne Duchess of York, Lord Falkland, Charles Duke of Brandon, and a mighty host of foreign nobility; Margaret of Valois,

Valois, Duchess of Savoy, Madame de Sevigné, Catharine de Medicis, the Countess de Grammont, Duchess de Mazarine, Duchess de Valiere, Madame de Maintenon, Ninon l'Enclos, and a hundred others. The library is magnificent, and the garden is scarcely excelled even by the boasted beauties of Stowe. It is perfumed with every sort of flower; and encircled by a wood which embosoms a small Gothic temple, adorned with every exertion of art.

It is in this delightful retreat, led by the spirit of meditation, and accompanied by the presiding genii of the adjacent fanes of Hampton, Twickenham, and Richmond, that the lovely Damer courts the united inspiration of the Muses. Sometimes a few mortal footsteps disturb the solemn repose of the scene. The charming sisters, the Misses Berry, quit their rose-embowered cottage to seek the fair mistress of Strawberry Hill. Mrs. Siddons, the British Melpomene, loves to commune with the soul of Shakspeare in those shades; and Eve Maria Garrick, the interesting relict of departed greatness, delights to repeat the history of former years of triumph and felicity, when her renowned husband shewed to the world that HE and NATURE WERE ONE. It is then that the fair recluse looks round upon her illustrious friends; that she mingles the delicious tear of sentiment with theirs;—it is then that she enjoys the full luxury of her situation;

She seems through consecrated walks to rove;  
She hears soft murmurs die along the grove

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Led by the sound she roams from shade to shade,  
By godlike genius venerable made.  
Here his first lays the Twickenham Poet sung ;  
There the last numbers flowed from Garrick's tongue.  
O early lost ! what tears the river shed,  
When the sad pomp along his banks was led !  
His drooping swans on ev'ry note expire,  
And on his willows hang each Muse's lyre !

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### LIEUT. GEN. SIR JOHN DOYLE, BART.

THE gentleman who is the subject of this sketch is a native of Ireland, was born in Dublin in the year 1756, and is descended from an ancient and respectable family of that country. His father was eminent in the profession of the law, by which he considerably improved his original patrimony; and retired from business for the purpose of superintending the education of his children, which appears to have been of the utmost advantage to his family, who have in consequence risen to high rank and respectability in their various professions. The eldest, William, was a king's counsel, and master in Chancery; and universally admired for his brilliant wit, which obtained him the friendship of the late celebrated Edmund Burke, Lord Charlemont, and all lovers of true taste and talent. He contributed largely with his pen to that admired political publication called *Baratariana*; and was the popular candidate for the university of Dublin, in opposition to the

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*Lieut. Genl. Doyle.*

Engraving by Thomas Phillips. Coloured by J. G. Smith.



the Honourable Mr. Hutchinson, the son of the late Provost. The heat of party produced a misunderstanding, which terminated in an affair of honour, first with the Provost, and afterwards with his son. But these differences having arisen merely from the political warmth of the moment, so far from producing animosity, created a friendship between the parties which lasted during their lives.

Two perished in the service of their country abroad. A fourth became a dignitary in the church; and the fifth brother, Welbore Ellis Doyle, died in 1797, a Major-General, Colonel of the fifty-third regiment, and Commander in Chief of the island of Ceylon; an officer who has shared in the dangers of the American war, and of that of Flanders, under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, whose confidence and friendship he had the honour to preserve to the last. This gentleman was particularly distinguished by his spirited attack at the head of the fourteenth regiment upon the French lines at Famar; after which he was selected by his Royal Highness for the honourable command of the grenadiers of the line in the storming of Valenciennes. But of this distinguished officer we shall not say any more at present, as his brilliant services well entitle him to a separate niche in the temple of fame.

The present subject, Lieut.-General John Doyle, having been originally intended for the profession of the law, received his education at Trinity College, Dublin, and was entered at one of our inns of court in London. About this period, having lost his father,

ther, he gave up the study of the law for the military profession, for which he had always a strong partiality. He purchased an ensigncy, and in due time a lieutenancy, in the forty-eighth regiment; from whence he exchanged into the fortieth on its being ordered to America, on the war breaking out in 1775, in which country he continued till the peace in 1782; a period of the most severe and trying service, ever known in our military annals, whether the variety of the climate, the nature of the country, or the number of well-fought actions, be considered, in all of which this officer had his full share.

He commenced his campaign as lieutenant of light infantry at Boston, under the gallant officer Lieutenant-Colonel, now Lieutenant-General, Musgrove; who witnessing his zeal and attention to his duty, appointed him adjutant to the battalion, in which excellent school he laid the foundation of that professional knowledge which has since been so successfully displayed in his military career.

A trait of conduct combining the best feelings of a youthful mind with the most animated courage, first brought this young officer into notice, and displayed his character in the most amiable light. He was at the time adjutant of the fortieth regiment, commanded by that excellent officer Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, whose paternal care of the younger part of the corps made him be considered by each as a second father.

The circumstance alluded to occurred at the battle  
of

of Brookline, on the 27th of August 1776, in which Colonel Grant was desperately wounded early in the day, and the action becoming extremely hot where he lay, the Adjutant, fearing that his colonel might be trampled to death, rushed with a few followers into the midst of the enemy, and dragged from amongst them the body of his friend ; but alas ! too late, for he had breathed his last. This act of filial piety made a strong impression on all who witnessed it, and produced a handsome compliment to the young soldier from his commander in chief.

The next action of consequence was the battle of Brandywine, in which we also find him engaged with his regiment. It will be remembered, that about three weeks after the affair of Brandywine, when the enemy were supposed to be totally dispersed, Washington made a general move, with an intent to surprise the British troops lying at German Town. The advanced post of the British army was occupied by a battalion of light infantry and the fortieth regiment, then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrove. Those troops were attacked about day-break, on the 4th of October, by the main body under the command of Washington in person. After a very spirited defence, they were obliged to give way to numbers, and to retire towards German Town. In this retreat Colonel Musgrove happily conceived the idea of taking possession of a large stone house that presented itself, with such of the regiment as were nearest to it. That small body, not exceeding five officers and about

one hundred and fifty men, stopt the progress of the enemy's whole column, consisting of at least five thousand men, for a considerable time, notwithstanding they brought their cannon to bear upon the house. This gallant defence was acknowledged to have been highly instrumental in saving the whole army: and in this brilliant affair Lieut. Doyle had his share, and was with two other officers among the wounded; for which service this small detachment was honoured with his majesty's particular thanks.

Soon after Sir Henry Clinton assumed the chief command; and it being deemed a measure of policy to withdraw from the ranks of the enemy the natives of Scotland and Ireland, two regiments were raised under distinguished noblemen of these countries; the one called the Caledonian Volunteers, the other the Volunteers of Ireland. The former was given to Lord Cathcart, the latter to Lord Rawdon, then adjutant-general. The officers of those regiments were chosen from the line, on which occasion Lieutenant Doyle obtained a company in the last-mentioned corps.

On the celebrated retreat through the Jerseys, we find Captain Doyle acting as major of brigade. In the winter 1779, his regiment was ordered to South Carolina, under the command of Lord Rawdon, where he assisted at the siege of Charlestown. After the fall of this place, the regiment accompanied Lord Cornwallis up the country, where his lordship was pleased to appoint Captain Doyle major of brigade. In this capacity we find him honourably mentioned

in

in Lord Cornwallis's official dispatch relative to the action of Camden.

On that nobleman's quitting the province of South Carolina, Lord Rawdon assumed the command of the troops, and to his staff Brigade Major Doyle was appointed. This may be considered as a fortunate event in the history of this gentleman, as it afforded him the most excellent model upon which to form his mind, either as the officer, the gentleman, or the scholar: and indeed it would appear, he did not fail to profit by the example; for it has been frequently remarked by those who are in the habits of intimacy with both, that there is a strong similarity of sentiment and manner between those distinguished officers. Thus in the wilds of America, in the midst of toils and dangers, was laid the foundation of a friendship undiminished to the present hour, originating in mutual esteem, cemented by the most implicit confidence on the one hand, and the most animated and honourable attachment on the other.

An opportunity soon after occurred of his distinguishing himself under the eye of his noble friend. It is known that after General Green's action with Lord Cornwallis in North Carolina, he by a rapid movement penetrated the upper parts of South Carolina, and presented himself before the village of Camden, where Lord Rawdon commanded a small detachment of the British troops, not exceeding nine hundred men in the whole.

The unexpected arrival of so large a force of

veteran soldiers, under the most experienced of the enemy's generals, would have appalled and overwhelmed any commander who did not possess the firmness and resources of this noble lord.

The enemy's force was not less than three thousand regulars, a fine corps of cavalry, and a numerous body of militia, strongly posted on the heights above the village in which Lord Rawdon's detachment was quartered.

This post, untenable in itself, and destitute of provisions even were it tenable, with a broad and rapid river in its rear, decided his lordship not to wait an attack, but boldly to advance against the enemy, notwithstanding his many advantages. The brilliant victory which followed this prompt decision (worthy of the great Frederick) justified its hardihood, and evinced to the world the wisdom of the measure.

The exertions of the Brigade Major on this well-fought field, were not unobserved or unrewarded by his General, as we find him mentioned in terms highly honourable to him in his Lordship's dispatches, of which he himself was to have been the bearer, had not the packet, by some unaccountable mistake, been permitted to sail without waiting for his Lordship's official account of the action.

Having, by forced marches through the desert, raised the siege of Ninety-six, Lord Rawdon found his health so much impaired by his uncommon exertions in that baleful climate, that he was under the necessity of returning to England. On his Lordship's departure, Major Doyle was preparing to join  
Lord

Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, when he was stopt, in consequence of the effects of the battle of the Ewataws, and, from his knowledge of the country and of the people, was requested to remain in the province, to fill a more prominent situation.

Here we find him acting as adjutant-general, and public secretary to General Gould, then in the chief command, in which situation he gave universal satisfaction to the army and inhabitants; and on General Gould's death he was honoured with the same confidence from his successors, Major General Stuart and Lieutenant-General Lesley. About this time he purchased the majority of his regiment.

The departure of those excellent partisan officers, Colonels Tarleton and Simcoe, left the field open to the exercise of talents in this line of service, so peculiarly adapted to the nature of that country; accordingly we find Major Doyle collecting a corps of light cavalry from among the back-woodsmen, most of whom had been hostile to the British interests, but were won over by his conciliatory manners, and with the infantry of his regiment formed a legion.

With this corps he rendered essential service to the army, and was himself, a second time, severely wounded. Without entering into a multitude of smaller affairs incident to this species of warfare, we have to record one of particular eclat.

An expedition having been sent against General Marion, in which Major Doyle, with his cavalry, formed the advanced guard, on perceiving a patrol of the enemy's dragoons, he immediately pursued,

sued, and when he had nearly overtaken them, there opened at once to his view the State Regiment of Dragoons ready to receive him. Feeling he had pursued too far to retreat, he took the resolution of immediately attacking them. After a discharge from the musketoons of his flankers, which threw them into some confusion, he immediately charged them with such rapidity that they were totally routed, leaving their commanding officer, and a number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeding the Major's force at the onset. This obtained for him the thanks of the commander in chief.

Soon after his regiment, in consequence of its services, was placed upon the establishment, numbered the 105th in the line, and ordered to Ireland, at which time the Major was intrusted with public dispatches to the ministers.

Peace having now taken place, and a life of inactivity but ill suiting his energetic mind, we find him entering upon a new scene of action, for which his talents and education peculiarly formed him. Accordingly he was returned member for Mullingar, in the parliament of 1782.

The general outline of this gentleman's politics was, for the most part, opposed to the administration of those days; although he could not be called a blind party-man, as he appears, even at this early part of life, to have judged for himself. The first prominent feature in his parliamentary career was his bringing forward a motion which did the highest honour to his head and heart.

There

There was an establishment in Ireland for the relief of disabled and worn-out soldiers, similar to that at Chelsea, but with a strong disparity in the provision for each ; those on the Irish establishment having little more than half the allowance granted those in England. This shameful inequality had been for ages lamented, but unremedied. Our youthful legislator, feeling for the honour of the country, and the comfort of the brave veterans, nobly undertook their cause. The humanity in which the measure originated, the skill with which it was conducted, and the impressive eloquence with which it was enforced, drew applause from all. There are strokes of the pathetic in his speech that would not have disgraced the pen of Sterne. In pleading the cause of the Irish veterans, he adduced many instances of their fidelity ; amongst others, his story of the Corporal, like that of faithful Trim, drew tears of sensibility from those who heard him. The story, in itself so interesting, was worked up with all the feeling and imagination that distinguishes this speaker. We cannot better give it than in his own words, which were to this effect :

“ Another brilliant example of tried fidelity flashes upon my mind : when Lord Rawden was in South Carolina, he had to send an express of great importance through a country filled with the enemy ; a corporal of the 17th dragoons, of known courage and intelligence, was selected to escort it. They had not proceeded far until they were fired upon, the express killed, and the corporal wounded in the side. Careless of his wound, he thought but of his duty : he snatched the dispatch from the dying man, and rode on, till, from the loss of blood, he fell ; when fearing the dispatch would be taken by the enemy, he thrust it into the  
wound

wound until it closed upon it! He was found next day by a British patrol, with a benignant smile of conscious virtue on his countenance, with life sufficient remaining to point to the fatal depository of his secret. In searching the wound was found the cause of his death; for the surgeon declared that it was not in itself mortal, but rendered so by the irritation of the paper. Thus fell the patriot soldier—

“Cut off from glory’s race,  
 “Which never mortal was more fond to run;  
 “Unheard he fell!

“In rank a corporal, he was in mind a hero. His name O’Lavery; his country, Ireland: Down was his county, and the parish Moira, in which a chaste monument records at once his fame, and the gratitude of his illustrious commander and countryman Lord Rawdon. While memory holds her seat, thy deed, O generous victim! shall be present to my mind: I would not for worlds have lost thy name. How would it have lived in Greek or Roman story! Nor the Spartan hero of Thermopylae, nor the Roman Curtius, have in self-devotion gone beyond thee! Leonidas fought in the presence of a grateful country; thou wert in a strange land, unseen. Curtius had all Rome for his spectators; the corporal was alone in a desert! He adopted the sentiment without knowing the language, and chose for his epitaph—

“Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.”

The success of his exertions on this occasion is well known. The popularity gained by it was not confined to the house, or the objects of his humanity, but was diffused throughout the country, and established him, in the public opinion, as a speaker of the very first promise.

The next debate of consequence in which we find him taking an active part, was on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, on which occasion he took a different line from those with whom he generally acted.

His

His speech upon this occasion was considered as one of the most powerful against the measure ; and, as given in the parliamentary debates, would do great credit to our publication, if our limits would admit of its insertion.

Some time after, an interesting debate upon an adjournment took place, in which, after a speech replete with sound argument and logical deduction, he thus pathetically concludes :

“ But if none of those reasons have any weight, let me call your attention to the crying necessities of our starving manufacturers ; and I do it with a greater confidence from a conviction that these unfortunate men will find a warm advocate in the breast of every man whom I have now the honour to address. It is true, hopes of relief are held out to those wretched people, but ‘ Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.’

“ The subject, Sir, belongs not to party ; it is a subject of humanity, and as such comes home to every breast.—I would not, Sir, wound your feelings by dwelling upon the sad tale of complicated woe, the dismal portion of these unhappy men. The melancholy picture, alas ! requires not the high colouring of pathetic description : every corner of your capital gives proof of its existence, and there is nothing but complaining in your streets.”

“ It is not long since a group of famished figures (impelled by hunger) sought those gates for succour ; they were seen flitting like spectres through your avenues, the moving shadows of their former selves ; they clung round your portals, imploring  
bread,

bread, but they sought not the bread of idleness ; they sought by honest labour to earn the bread of industry for their famished women and their craving infants. For this have I heard them styled licentious ; but where are the marks of their licentiousness ? I will tell you, that hunger, which forces through stone walls, was here arrested at your threshold through respect to you. Was this licentious ? What did they demand ? They asked you as a boon for what, if they had been licentious, should have been their punishment—they asked you for hard labour ! Did this in these men seem licentious ? Yet there are those who say they were licentious ; and *they are all honourable men*. I am sure there is no man here who is indifferent to the distresses of a fellow-creature. Shall we then pity the sorrows of an individual, and shall that soft affection lose its force when the objects of its operation are multiplied ? Shall we feel the sufferings of one man, and shall we be indifferent to those of one thousand ? That we may remove those distresses as far as lies in our power ; and that we may carry through the business of the nation, at present impeded by faction, I shall vote against the adjournment."

We again find him taking an active part in the debate upon the Irish Propositions, where he most strenuously and ably opposed those regulations, as disadvantageous to his country. The lovers of wit and strong irony will find much to gratify and amuse them in his speech on this occasion. He also opposed the doctrine of attachments, in which, although

not

not a lawyer, he shewed much depth of research and extent of legal reading.

At this period the Major's character brought him into the foremost ranks as a public speaker ; accordingly we find him taking the lead in a great question respecting the police of the country, the management of which he not only arraigned with his usual acuteness of reasoning and force of argument, but also demonstrated by calculation, to the fullest conviction of every man, that the protection afforded by the police as it then stood, was not only far less efficient, but much more expensive, than that of London : accordingly an amelioration took place.

For his exertions on this occasion the freedom of the city of Dublin was voted to him.

We soon after find him pleading the cause of the foundlings, which obtained for him the honourable distinction of Governor of the Charity, to which he was unanimously elected : thus manifesting to the world that the scope of his philanthropic mind embraced every object of compassion, from helpless infancy to decrepit age.

In the great question of Catholic Emancipation, Major Doyle took an early and decided part in its favour, and was one of its first and most powerful advocates.

About this period his reputation as a soldier and a senator attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, and we accordingly find him enjoying the confidence and friendship of this illustrious prince, who honoured him with the post of private secretary, in which he  
continued

continued until his Royal Highness's establishment was dissolved.

The war which broke out in 1793 called him back to his original profession, and once more gave scope to the energies of his mind in the military art: he immediately offered his services to raise a regiment of his countrymen for the service of government. Mr. Dundas, the secretary of state of the day, acceded to his proposal with a fairness which did him much credit; availing himself of the military reputation and popularity of this officer, rather than excluding him upon political grounds, which a mind less liberal might have done. Upon this occasion his royal patron honoured the corps with the appellation of "The Prince of Wales's Irish Regiment," and it was numbered the 87th.

The raising a regiment is in general rather a drawback to popularity: but from the manner in which this was conducted, it produced the opposite effect; and the rapidity with which it was levied confirmed the wisdom of selecting this officer for the purpose. Soon after the completion of the regiment, he was by brevet promotions raised to the rank of colonel, and was selected by his old commander Lord Rawdon, now Earl of Moira, to accompany him on his expedition to the Continent, in 1794.

The judicious movements of his lordship are well known. In the march of the army to join the Duke of York, Colonel Doyle was ordered to take post with his young corps at the village of Alost, to cover the movements of the army, this being supposed the probable

probable route the enemy would take. The Colonel had merely time to take possession of the place, when it became necessary for him to act against the foe. He had occupied with the greater part of the corps the houses commanding the principal street, and was returning from posting his piquets, when a party of British dragoons, who had been advanced in front of the town, came back in full speed, pursued by the enemy's hussars, many of whom were mixed with them. The Colonel was at this time on horseback in the street, attended only by two orderly dragoons (one of whom was killed): he had barely time to caution his men against firing, lest they should destroy the British cavalry as well as the enemy, when he was attacked by two hussars, one of whom gave him a severe wound on the head, and on his facing him to return the blow, he received a second wound on the arm from the other assailant. At this critical juncture the grenadiers of the Colonel's regiment, who were posted on one of the flanks, seeing a good opportunity, fired upon a party of the hussars, which made the whole give way, leaving a number of killed and wounded. A singular instance of that presence of mind so necessary to a partisan, occurred here, by which the Colonel got out of the embarrassment and dangers that surrounded him. While he was engaged in the manner above described, a part of the enemy had pushed past, and occupied the narrow passage by which alone he could join his corps. He took the sudden resolution of going off in the same direction with the flying enemy, trusting to a  
more

more favourable opportunity of extricating himself. His being wounded appears to have given them the idea of his being a prisoner, and accordingly he was unmolested, and ultimately passed by each of them ; when, taking the advantage of a cross-road, he got back and rejoined his regiment.

He was again honourably noticed in His Royal Highness's official report of this affair. The Colonel was removed from hence to Antwerp, and ultimately to England, for the recovery of his wounds : at which time he received from his immediate commander, the following creditable testimonial of his conduct, not only in this affair, but during the whole period that he had served under this distinguished officer.

“ Colonel John Doyle having applied to me for a testimonial relative to such parts of his service as I have had occasion to witness, I most cheerfully comply with his request. He was under my immediate command in America for part of the year 1779, and for the whole of 1780 and 1781. In every instance of the hard and trying business of those campaigns, he maintained the high character he had before acquired for courage and zealous activity. It was my lot to see him in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and I never observed more firmness, judgment, or ready resource in any man. Subsequent to my quitting Carolina, he had the opportunity of distinguishing himself much at the head of detachments. Latterly he was again under my eye, during the short time which I passed on the Continent. At the attack which the French made on Alost, I had particular reason to applaud the cool intrepidity with which he repulsed them at one of the bridges : though he there received two wounds, he did not quit his regiment until the enemy had given up the attempt.

“ I cou-

“ I consider him as a most valuable officer, full of active resource, and fit to be confidentially relied upon in any situation of danger.

MOIRA,  
Lieutenant General.”

Upon the army's falling back upon Holland, the Colonel's regiment was thrown into Bergen-op-zoom, the garrison of which had basely sold the place to the enemy, and, contrary to a solemn promise, gave up the British regiment as prisoners of war.

On Colonel Doyle's return to his native country, he found a material change in the political system of Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam had been appointed Lord Lieutenant for the purpose of conciliating that country; and amongst other popular characters brought forward by that amiable nobleman for this laudable purpose, we find Colonel Doyle placed at the head of the war department.

Enjoying the confidence and support of this nobleman, the Colonel was enabled to introduce many useful regulations into this department. Politics were excluded from the war-office, and the only claims admitted there were military merit and faithful services. While he held this public situation, the catholic claims were again agitated. It is well known that the melioration of this body was a leading feature in his Lordship's administration, in which he found an able assistant in his secretary at war. Lord Fitzwilliam's recall, in consequence of differing in opinion from the Minister upon this subject, is well known, on which occasion all the members of the  
Irish

Irish administration were removed, excepting the War Secretary. This gentleman requested his Lordship's permission to resign, which he would by no means permit: indeed the Colonel's conduct was so conciliating to all parties, that he was continued in his office under Lord Camden, who succeeded Lord Fitzwilliam in the government of Ireland. In the subsequent discussions upon the Catholic question, this gentleman's consistency continued unshaken, and though he of course must have foreseen that differing from his colleagues on so important a question must have entailed the loss of his situation, yet he nobly preferred the faithful discharge of his duty to the emoluments of office. But we do not find him, as too frequently happens, commencing a rancorous opposition, but preserving the same cheerful urbanity of temper that had gained him so many friends.

He at the same time, by the reduction of the prince's household, lost the appointment of his Royal Highness's secretary; but notwithstanding this decrease of income, he closed his political career by a mark of generosity that well deserves to be recorded. His regiment being still prisoners in France, he collected their wives and families, and distributed amongst them 500*l*.

Upon the return of the regiment to Chatham, the Colonel joined them there early in 1796. At this time an expedition was formed against the Texel, with the hopes of surprising the Helder, and destroying the Dutch fleet. The naval part was committed to that gallant veteran the late Lord Duncan, and the

the military force was entrusted to Colonel Doyle, with the rank of brigadier-general. He accordingly sailed for the coast of Holland in the month of October, 1796, with the tenth and eighty-seventh regiments, which were to have been joined by the marines of the admiral's fleet. This expedition was prevented from joining the Texel fleet by contrary winds and unavoidable delays till the 27th of October, when having held a consultation with the admiral, the naval officers, and pilots, it was unanimously determined, that the boisterous weather in those seas, at this advanced season of the year, rendered combined operations in that country difficult, if not impracticable, and all idea of surprise hopeless. The next day a gale of wind dispersing the fleet and destroying several of the small craft intended for disembarking the troops, justified this opinion, and put an end to the expedition, which, however feasible at a proper season, was rendered totally impracticable under these circumstances; otherwise there was every thing to hope from the talents of the commanders, and the perfect cordiality that subsisted between them.

In 1797, the Colonel was appointed a brigadier-general upon the staff, and ordered to Gibraltar. On his journey to Portsmouth, a circumstance occurred that had nearly deprived his country of the services of this able officer. Travelling in a post-chaise, accompanied by his nephew Brigade-Major Doyle, they were suddenly attacked by robbers near Ripley, and a desperate encounter ensued, in which

one of the highwaymen was killed, and the General badly wounded in two places. As soon as he recovered from his wounds, he proceeded to the place of his destination. We accordingly find him on the staff of Gibraltar, where he remained till the expedition was determined on for Malta and Egypt, when he solicited to join that army : and his request being granted, he was placed on the staff under the brave Abercrombie, whom he accompanied to Minorca, Malta, and Cadiz, and was ultimately selected as one of his generals upon the expedition to Egypt, where he shared in the well-fought battles which ended in the splendid victory and glorious death of their much-lamented chief. General (now Lord) Hutchinson succeeding to the command, and the resolution being adopted of making a move towards Cairo, Generals Craddock and Doyle were selected by the new commander in chief to accompany him on this expedition.

After the affair at Rahmanie, the army halted at the village of Algam. On the morning of the 17th of May, (the army being encamped upon the borders of the Desert,) an Arab was conducted to General Doyle's tent, who brought intelligence that a body of French troops, which he computed at two thousand men, were within a few miles of the camp, with a large convoy of camels. General Doyle immediately took the Arab to head-quarters, reported his intelligence, and at the same time earnestly requested permission to pursue the enemy with the cavalry in the camp, leaving directions with the infantry

infantry of his brigade to follow as fast as they could. General Hutchinson acceded to his request; and he repaired to the camp, where he found that the Turkish cavalry had been detached a day or two before, and that a squadron of the twelfth dragoons had, previous to his arrival, been sent to water at some distance: but he considered that every thing depended upon promptness and expedition; therefore, without waiting for the absent squadron, he left an officer to bring it on, and immediately struck into the Desert in search of the foe. After a long pursuit, the cavalry came up with them, when the enemy formed a hollow square, and commenced an irregular fire of musketry. At this time the General had ordered Major Madden of the dragoons to proceed with a flag of truce, and summon them to surrender; when Major Wilson, of Hompesch's hussars, arriving at this moment, volunteered his services on the occasion, and carried the General's message to the French commander, who, after some parley, agreed to the terms.

The following is a copy of the dispatch upon this occasion to General Hutchinson:

"SIR, *Lybian Desert, 17th May, 1801.*

"I beg leave to congratulate you upon the success of the enterprise which you did me the honour to entrust to my charge, and I forward for your approbation the terms upon which the French Commander has surrendered his force, and the convoy accompanying it, to my detachment.

"Agreeably to your orders I proceeded into the desert in pursuit of the enemy, (stated by the Arabs at two thousand,) with such of the cavalry as I could find in camp, amounting

to two hundred and fifty dragoons, leaving directions with the infantry of my brigade to follow with as much celerity as the great heat and the deep sand would permit. I pressed forward with the cavalry as fast as I could without blowing the horses, and after a pursuit of four hours in the desert, I came up with the enemy, who had formed a hollow square, in the centre of which he had placed his convoy of five hundred camels, his cannon, and his colours.

“As we came near, a file-firing commenced by the enemy, when a flag of truce was sent in by that gallant and zealous officer, Major Wilson, of Hompesch’s dragoons (who volunteered his services upon the occasion), summoning them to surrender.

“It is impossible to say too much of the zeal and perseverance of the troops, who marched the whole day in the desert without provisions or water, preserving their usual cheerfulness. I cannot express my obligations to Colonel Abercrombie for his animated zeal, and I consider that the success of the enterprise was greatly owing to his activity and intelligence. Lieutenant Sutton, of the Minorca regiment, (acting as my aide-de-camp,) was extremely useful in encouraging a small body of Arabs to hang upon the enemy’s flanks, and in restraining their impetuosity during our parley.

“I thank you, Sir, for having afforded me the opportunity of manifesting my zeal for his Majesty’s service, which is all I have to boast.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

“J. DOYLE, Brigadier-General.

To the Hon. Major-General Hutchinson,

&c. &c. &c.

“Return of prisoners, stores, &c. taken from the enemy by a detachment of cavalry under the command of Brigadier-General Doyle.

	Officers.	Rank and File.	Horses.	Camels.
Cavalry.....	8.....	190.....	200.....	460
Artillery.....	1.....	68.....	0.....	0
Infantry.....	19.....	311.....	0.....	0
Total	28	569	200	460

“One

“ One four-pounder and a stand of colours taken at the same time.

“ One hundred horses and dromedaries (private property) not included.

### “ CAPITULATION.

“ Conditions aux quelles les troupes aux ordres du Chef de Brigade Cavalier, commandant le regiment de dromédaires chargé de l'escort d'un convoi allant au Kaire, se rendent aux troupes Angloises commandés par le General Doyle.

### “ ARTICLES.

“ 1. Les troupes recevront tous les honneurs de la guerre, les officiers conserveront leurs armes, et les soldats ne les déposeront qu'au quartier-general des troupes Angloises.

“ 2. Les officiers et les soldats seront conduits en France libres de leurs personnes.

“ 3. Tous les effets appartenant aux officiers, soldats, et autres personnes à la suite de la colonne, leur seront conservés.

“ 4. Il sera permis aux troupes Françaises d'envoyer au Kaire et au Alexandrie chercher les effets qui leurs appartiennent.

“ 5. Les officiers de santé et employés à la suite de la colonne seront également conduits en France.

“ 6. Les chevaux, les chameaux, et les effets des officiers, leur seront conservés.

“ 7. Tout ce qui appartient au Gouvernement Française sera remis au Commandant Anglois.

“ Fait dans la Desert à la hauteur du village Comnerhirié, le 27 Floreal, An 9 de la Republique Française, repondant au 17 Mai, 1801.

(Signé)

“ CAVALIER, Chef de Brigade.

“ J. DOYLE, Brigadier General.

“ Approuvé par le General Commandant en Chef,

“ J. H. HUTCHINSON.”

By some accident, neither this report nor the accompanying capitulation was ever mentioned in the official dispatches, or met the public eye.

On the 19th of June, the army, which had remained in

in front of Cairo on the banks of the Nile, received orders to cross the river the next morning, and the artillery had actually passed over the bridge of boats that evening. It happened, however, at this time, that Brigade-Major Doyle (who was left wounded at Rosetta) had obtained the most accurate intelligence of the strength of Cairo from the French prisoners; and indeed had the address to prevail on a very intelligent person, who had recently left Cairo, not only to furnish information, but even to join the British army, and offer in person to accompany the column of attack. This enabled General Doyle to use such arguments against this movement, and in favour of that to Giza (and which were backed by General Craddock), as met the approbation of the Commander in Chief, and induced him to countermand the orders at nine o'clock at night by a pass order with his own hand, and even without the usual interference of the staff. The artillery actually recrossed the Nile during the night, and the army marched next day to Giza. The consequence of this movement was an immediate proposition from the enemy for the surrender of that place.

Little doubt can remain of this movement's having tended to decide the fall of Cairo, when the speech of General Dönzelot at the Congress is considered: "We saw (said this General) your intention of crossing the Nile, and commencing your operations on that side: be assured we would have given you *three years contribution* of all Egypt to have attacked us on the Cairo side; in that event you would never have heard of this convention."

Upon

Upon this occasion the Commander in Chief, in his public dispatches, was pleased to express his obligations to Generals Craddock and Doyle, and recommended them as officers highly deserving his Majesty's favour.

On the surrender of Cairo the country fever seized the troops; and General Doyle, with many others, was sent ill to Rosetta, where, before he had recovered, he heard a rumour of an intended attack upon the French at Alexandria. Urged by this intelligence he left his sick bed, mounted his horse, and rode forty miles through the desert, under an Egyptian sun in the dog-days, with the fever upon him, and arrived the night before the attack. In that successful enterprise he commanded, and had the good fortune to defeat the attempts subsequently made by General Menou upon a part of his position.

Official Report to MAJOR-GENERAL CRADDOCK.

*" Camp before Alexandria, 17th August, 1801.*

" DEAR SIR,

" I have the honour to enclose you a return of the killed and wounded of the brigade under my command in the affair of this morning.

" As you were a witness of the gallant conduct of the troops, and the several movements of the day, it is unnecessary for me to trouble you with any details, had I even time to give them.

" Colonel Spencer was so good as to take charge of that column of the brigade destined for the attack of the enemy's right work; and you are too well acquainted with the character of our gallant friend to be surprised at his judicious and spirited conduct during the day. He speaks in the highest terms of Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart, of the 30th regiment, who, under Colonel Spencer's direction, charged and repulsed a very superior body of the enemy.

" The

"The Captains Hamilton and Gray, of the 30th regiment, were particularly distinguished for their exertion.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"J. DOYLE, Brigadier General."

Major-General Craddock, &c. &c. &c.

"*Camp near Alexandria, 18th August, 1801.*

"Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the 4th brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Doyle, in the affair of the Green Hills, 17th August, 1801.

Killed.			Wounded.		
Rank and File.	Sub.	Serjts.	Rank and File.	Total.	
30th regiment.....3.....	1.....	2.....	22.....	28	
50th ditto.....0.....	0.....	0.....	1.....	1	
92d ditto.....0.....	0.....	0.....	3.....	3	
A. I. Fencibles.....1.....	0.....	0.....	0.....	1	
<hr/>			<hr/>		
4			1	2	
			26	33	

(Signed)

"J. DOYLE, Brigadier General."

The Commander in Chief next day, in the most animated and warm manner, thanked him publicly in the field; but unhappily in writing his public dispatch, he not only forgot to transmit General Doyle's official report, or mention even his name or exertions, but actually stated his brigade to have been commanded by another.

When General (now Lord) Hutchinson discovered his mistake, he felt as every man of honour would have done; and wrote immediately to Lord Hobart, the war minister, expressing his regret that in a former dispatch he had omitted the name of General Doyle, of whom he spoke in the highest terms of praise.

Extract of a Letter from GENERAL HUTCHINSON to  
LORD HOBART.

"*Malta, 9th January, 1802.*

"In my last, which alludes to the capture of Alexandria, I have worded a sentence in so confused and inexplicit a manner, as

to render it doubtful whether Brigadier-General Doyle was actually present or not with his brigade on that day: he not only was at their head, but conducted himself, as he always does, in the most gallant and handsome manner.

“ I am happy to have this opportunity of doing justice to the merits of a most active, diligent, and zealous general officer.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ J. H. HUTCHINSON.”

Lord Hobart, &c. &c. &c.

This letter fortunately arrived in time to enable Lord Hobart to do justice to the wounded feelings of this gallant officer; and accordingly at the close of the session, in moving the thanks of Parliament to the army and navy, his Lordship thus notices it:

“ The British army was also entitled to a high degree of praise; wherever it was engaged on equal terms, it was victorious. A great part of our successes during the war were owing to our military; and although the valour of all our officers was already so well known as to render it unnecessary for him to mention particular facts or individuals, yet there was *one* officer whom he should name, because by mistake no mention had been made of him in the dispatch of Lord Hutchinson; and to pass him by without notice, would be doing an irretrievable injury to his fame. The officer he alluded to was General Doyle. It happened at the time his division proceeded to attack a fort near Alexandria, that he was at the distance of near forty miles, labouring under a severe fit of illness; the moment he heard of the intended attack, he got out of his bed, rode over the desert, joined his troops, and fought with the same degree of bravery which he had always displayed on every former

former occasion. His Lordship then read a letter which he said he had received from General Lord Hutchinson, dated Malta, in which that brave and noble person expressed his regret, that in a former dispatch he had omitted the name of General Doyle, of whom he also spoke in high terms of praise. His Lordship said, he thought it but justice to state this fact."

General Hutchinson, not satisfied merely with this public reparation to General Doyle's feelings, addressed, on his arrival at Malta, a letter to General Doyle, which, whilst it must have been highly gratifying to that General, did his own head and heart the highest honour; nor did he confine his sentiments of approbation to this circumstance alone, but thus expresses himself:

*"Malta, December 22d, 1801.*

"MY DEAR DOYLE,

"Though I sincerely regret the cause of your letter, I am at the same time extremely happy that you have given me an opportunity of explaining my conduct. I do assure you that I had no intention of wounding your honourable feelings, or of detracting from that merit or those services of which no man can be more sensible than I am. You will be convinced, from what I said to you next day, how perfectly satisfied I was with your conduct; and indeed I had a feeling at that time, that you had ventured your valuable life rashly, in quitting a sick bed to do your duty in the field, to which your health appeared to me to be entirely unequal. That sentence in my letter I confess to be confused and embarrassed, and not at all conveying my real meaning; but I wrote it in extreme haste, broken in upon almost every instant, and under the pressure of severe pain. Nothing can afflict me so deeply as the wound it has given to your feelings; but I hope you will do me the justice to suppose  
that

that it was not an intentional act upon my part, and that you will not entirely condemn me for one awkward expression, occasioned by the inadvertence of the moment, and the pressure of a thousand disagreeable circumstances. Nothing can be so far from my heart as to do injustice to those brave men whom I was so fortunate as to command in Egypt, particularly one whom I have so much reason to love and esteem. It was not only on the 17th of August that I had reason to applaud your manner of acting, but during the whole course of a long and arduous campaign, your zealous exertions gave me the greatest reason to approve of your conduct, and I shall ever acknowledge them to have been highly beneficial to the public service. You may be assured, that upon all occasions, and to all persons, I shall be ever ready to do you that justice which you deserve: were I not, it would be a severe accusation against my own head and heart. Believe me, what has happened has given me more pain than I can express.

“ Believe me to be, my dear General,

“ Truly and affectionately yours,

(Signed)

“ J. H. HUTCHINSON, Lieut. Gen.”

Brigadier-General Doyle.

After the close of the Egyptian campaign, another opportunity unexpectedly occurred for the manifestation of his ardent zeal for the interests of his country. When at Naples for the recovery of his health, which had been greatly injured by his exertions in the late campaign, the British ambassador found himself in great distress for a confidential person to carry some very important dispatches to government.

The General, forgetful of health or ease, at a moment's notice, undertook a long and fatiguing journey, travelling night and day, in order that the king's service might meet with no impediment: and this was a service of no small danger, as the country  
through

through which he was to pass was infested with hordes of banditti, headed by a ferocious chief, who from his barbarity obtained the appellation of the Great Devil. His handsome conduct on this occasion was gratefully acknowledged by his Majesty's ministers.

On his arrival in England he was appointed Major General upon the staff, and sent to command at Guernsey. Soon after he had the post of Lieutenant-Governor of that island conferred upon him. This appointment called into action all the resources and energies of his mind, and brought into view those singular talents which have been displayed with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the country, in his administration of the government of that island.

The peculiar constitution of this island, embracing many privileges unknown elsewhere, renders the government of it no easy task; but by the manly frankness of his conduct, and kindness of manner, he succeeded in conciliating the affections of the inhabitants; the greatest harmony has subsisted between them and the military, and the measures of government for the defence of the island have been carried into effect with a promptitude and liberality unknown before his time. The fortifications on the sea coast being constructed and kept in repair at the expence of the States of the island, it frequently happened that in times of peace they were allowed to fall into decay, but at best were upon a small and limited scale, and totally inadequate to the defence

defence of the island; accordingly, at the breaking out of the late war, the General found this frontier post exposed to imminent risk from the enterprising spirit of the enemy, who were at the door, and had at the time strong armaments in their ports for Louisiana and Pondicherry, which might have been employed for the reduction of these islands. Here the General's eloquence proved highly beneficial to the public service: as it enabled him to lay before the States (or Parliament) of the island such a strong and animated picture of the public danger, that he obtained supplies from them of an unprecedented extent. They not only voted large sums for the repair of the old works, but they readily consented to build a number of new forts and batteries at the requisition of the General, thereby giving a degree of protection and security to the island never before experienced. The States of the island were so sensible of the great benefits it derived from the judicious and skilful measures he had taken for its defence, that they came to the resolution of an unanimous vote of thanks under the Great Seal of the island, a distinction the more honourable, as it was unprecedented in the annals of their history.

The decision of the States was communicated to the General by the Bailiff, in the assembly of the States; to which he rose and made the following reply:

“MR. BAILIFF, and GENTLEMEN of the STATES,

“This unanimous and flattering mark of your approbation comes upon me as unexpected as I learn it has been unprecedented. Had I been apprized of the honourable distinction, I could have but ill expressed my feelings; but thus taken by  
surprize

surprize by your goodness, how little can I do justice to the sentiment it inspires !

“ I have ever considered, that the happiness of the governed should be the first care of those who administer government. If this be generally true, how much more so when applied to a people where not one disloyal, disaffected, or discontented man is to be found !

“ If I am so fortunate as to conciliate the affections of his Majesty’s loyal subjects entrusted to my care, I not only gratify the best feelings of my heart, but I am confident I most recommend myself to that revered Sovereign, the whole object of whose life has been the happiness of his people.

“ I feel great pride in your unanimous approbation of the measures I have adopted for the public safety. Experience has taught me that the best mode of resisting the invader, is to attack him while helpless in his boats, or in the confusion incident to a landing. If this idea be well founded as to invasion in general, it is particularly applicable to our island ; where, from its rocks and currents, an enemy unused to maritime operations must find additional impediments to a descent. I fear your kind partiality overrates my services, though it does but justice to my anxious wishes for your welfare. Much of the merit of the sea line of defence, in truth, belongs to the judicious liberality of the States ; their supplies well deserve that name, when we consider the unequal, oppressive, and unjust mode that at present prevails in levying the taxes in this island : epithets which every gentleman, who has spoken in this day’s debate, has concurred in bestowing upon it.

“ It is highly gratifying to me to learn from the representatives of the people, that their confidence is increased ; be assured *that* confidence is reciprocal, and that upon the loyalty and courage of the inhabitants I have the most perfect reliance. But let me conjure you, by that frankness which alone belongs to friendship, not to relax or slumber under the shade of false security, ‘ lest in that sleep you meet death.’ Let no man suppose the blow averted because it is delayed ; else shall we be in the case of the shepherd’s boy in the fable, and the savage wolf devour our unprotected flock.

“ You

" You are the advanced guard of the empire: the eyes of Europe are upon you. A strait divides you from France: you see her shores: the enemy is at your gates: he is enterprising; be you vigilant. He is vindictive: your offences are of a nature not to be pardoned: you are loyal and content. Your punishment would be extirpation. You are engaged in no common warfare. He comes not for conquest; he is not content with pillage: desolation is his object! The existence of all you hold dear is at stake: Property! Liberty! Life!

" You fight to preserve a chaste and beloved wife from the violation of a licentious soldiery, and your smiling infant from their destructive bayonet. But your cause is just; your people brave and united: be but vigilant; let him advance; he will be met by free men, determined to lose their liberties but with their lives; and may the God of battles crown with success your patriotic efforts!"

The public gratitude did not rest here, as the principal inhabitants of the island came to the resolution of presenting him with a splendid vase, elegantly decorated, and accompanied with a suitable address:

Inscription upon the Vase voted to General DOYLE by the  
principal INHABITANTS of Guernsey.

" To the Honourable Major-General JOHN DOYLE, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief, Knight of the Order of the Crescent, Colonel of the 87th Regiment,  
&c. &c. &c.

" As a token of their regard and gratitude for his constant and strenuous support of their laws and privileges; for his zeal and indefatigable exertions in most effectually providing for their defence: and for the perfect harmony and good understanding he has by his conciliating manner uniformly preserved between the Civil and Military.

" Guernsey, 13th June, 1801."

This

This example was followed by different bodies in the island ; the two lodges of Freemasons came to a similar resolution, and presented him with an elegant vase from each body, accompanied by the following address :

“ To the Honourable Major-General JOHN DOYLE, Colonel of the 87th (or Prince of Wales’s Irish) Regiment, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of the Islands of Guernsey and Alderney, &c. &c.

“ If to merit the approbation of our country be an object gratifying to the feelings of a virtuous mind, you, Sir, must enjoy that felicity in its most pure and perfect form.

“ It is not necessary for us to enumerate your talents and eminent virtues ; they are universally known ; but we cannot withhold from you that tribute of gratitude which you so justly merit from our body.

“ We consider it the highest honour to have enrolled in our society a name that sheds lustre on the nation that gave it birth. Distinguished abilities, exerted in the service of our country, in the senate, in the field, and in the discharge of the moral duties of private life, justly claim our gratitude and applause.

“ It falls to the lot of few deservedly to rise to eminence in any department of the state ; to very few indeed to shine forth the eloquent and impressive orator, the gallant and successful general, and the philanthropist on the most enlarged and liberal scale. In you, Sir, we see all these combined and daily exercised.

“ It is highly gratifying to us to see a member of our society become every where the object of admiration.

“ Impressed with this sentiment, your brethren of Lodges 116 and 222, have come to the unanimous resolution of presenting you with a vase from each lodge, decorated with suitable emblems and inscriptions, which they entreat you will do them the honour to accept, as a small mark of their love, esteem, and gratitude.”

## Inscription on the Vase presented by Lodge 116.

“ To the Honourable Major-General JOHN DOYLE, Colonel of  
the 87th (or Prince of Wales's Irish) Regiment, Lieute-  
nant-Governor and Commander in Chief of the  
islands of Guernsey and Alderney,  
&c. &c. &c.

“ We, the free and accepted Masous of Orange Lodge, No. 116, beg leave to assure you, that we participate in the general sentiment of gratitude expressed by our fellow-citizens for the essential benefits we have received from your able and energetic administration, that has given all a confidence never before experienced.

“ We have seen you combine the talents of an experienced general, with the kindest urbanity to all within the sphere of your government.

“ Your example has supported the objects most dear to our society— To fear God, honour the King, and to love our Neighbour as ourselves; and you have proved to us that the heart that is boldest in the battle, is softest to the distresses of the weak. Accept, Sir, we request, this small mark of our grateful attachment, in some degree emblematical of your distinguished qualities. And may the God of all light and truth bless, direct, and prosper all your public and private undertakings, is the prayer of

“ Sir,

“ Your sincere and devoted servants,

“ The Members of Lodge 116.”

## Inscription upon the Vase presented by Lodge 222.

“ To the Honourable Major-General JOHN DOYLE, Colonel of  
the 87th (or Prince of Wales's Irish) Regiment, Lieutenant  
Governor and Commander in Chief of the Islands of  
Guernsey and Alderney, &c. &c.

“ We, the Free and Accepted Masons of Mariners' Lodge,  
No. 222, penetrated with a lively and sincere sense of gratitude,  
1805-1806. G esteem,

esteem, and admiration of your eminent talents, your public and private virtues, which have been most energetically displayed with the highest advantage to his Majesty's service, the greatest benefit to this island, and to the general interests of humanity, which our Lodge has experienced in common with every individual under the sphere of your government; and with profound deference and respect we beg leave to offer you a Cup, with Emblems in some small degree characteristic of your distinguished and amiable qualities, but intended more as a lasting testimony of our gratitude and regard. And may the God of light and truth watch over, protect, and prosper all your public and private undertakings, is the prayer of,

“ Sir,

“ Your grateful and attached friends,

“ and humble servants,

“ The Members of Lodge 222.”

Shortly after the breaking out of the war, the island of Alderney was placed under the command of the General; and as this is nearer to the enemy's coast than Guernsey, a great portion of his attention was directed to this island. The works he constructed, and the measures of precaution he took for its defence, were deemed so effectual, that it gave the fullest confidence and security to the inhabitants. The states of the island were so fully sensible of the benefit they derived from being placed under the protection of so experienced and able a commander, that they presented him with a most elegant gold box, ornamented with diamonds and rubies.

Inscription upon the Box.

“ To the Honourable Major-General DOYLE, Colonel of the 87th Regiment, Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey, and commanding in chief his Majesty's Forces in Alderney and Guernsey.”

“ From the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and principal

Inhabitants of Alderney, as a small mark of their respect for his distinguished services, and of their gratitude for the protection and security afforded to this island by the judicious and energetic measures he has adopted for their defence."

It should seem that no object escaped the General's active and comprehensive mind; as notwithstanding the multitude of important operations that he was carrying on for the defence of the coast, he suggested the idea of improving the public roads in the island. But notwithstanding the obvious utility of the measure, and the great popularity of the General, it met with much opposition from various causes; partly from the exhausted state of the ordinary funds by the great expence already incurred in the defence of the island, and partly by individuals conceiving their properties would be injured by cutting down their banks, hedges, &c. &c. Others objected to the plan, as recourse must be had for the necessary supply to a general tax upon property, which they conceived unconstitutional; in short, there were a thousand objections, and a host of opponents.

The meeting took place in the town-church, there not being another public building in the island large enough to contain the voters. Here the General opened the business by one of the ablest speeches that perhaps ever was delivered, considered either as to clearness and accuracy of statement, multitude and importance of the objects embraced, strength of reasoning, wit, and ridicule, gracefulness and energy in the delivery. In short, it surprised every one,

even those who had before witnessed his eloquence ; for the General's powers seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties he had to contend with. A whisper was not heard during the whole speech, which continued an hour and three quarters ; and such were the effects produced by his arguments, that many who came down not only determined to vote, but to speak against the motion, became converts, and declared in its favour. The measure was accordingly carried by a majority of three to one.

We should regret much that the nature of this work will not admit of our inserting the speech, had it not already appeared before the public, to which publication we refer the reader.

This officer has latterly been appointed a lieutenant-general upon the staff of the Island of Guernsey ; and has obtained his majesty's permission to wear the order of the Crescent, conferred upon him by the Grand Seignior. He has recently been raised to the dignity of a Baronet of the united kingdom ; and his majesty has been further pleased to reward his services by a grant of supporters and additional armorial bearings.

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## MRS. THICKNESSE.

OUR Englishwomen have always been considered as handsome, but it is only of late years that they have been reckoned eminently accomplished. A  
happy

happy admixture of different races has long since produced a singular and interesting variety in the hair, complexion, and even perhaps in the disposition of individuals.

It is thus, that while the *belles* on the continent display but one unvarying hue, we possess all the different shades of beauty; from the sedate *blonde*, fair as alabaster, to the vivacious *brunette*, whose eyes sparkle like the champaign produced on those hills whence she probably derives her remote origin. In the mean time, the York and Lancastrian roses tint an infinite variety of intermediate complexions, while a look of native ingenuous good-humour (all our own!) exhibits something which we flatter ourselves is perhaps peculiar to our island.

But what tends to produce symmetry and loveliness of person cannot communicate any degree of perfection to the mind; and, until of late years, the ladies of Italy and France must be frankly allowed to have excelled our own in point of accomplishments. It is true that, some centuries ago, we could boast of one female,\* and that too on the throne, who understood Latin, and another† who reluctantly aspired to it, conversant with Greek; but it is not long since a regular and systematical education, generally calculated to produce accomplishments truly desirable, was introduced here. In the reign of our “good Queen Bess,” a taste for *needle work and pastry* were

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\* Elizabeth.

† The beautiful and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey.

cultivated with no common zeal and success by her maids of honour, and the ladies of the court. The age of Anne forms an epoch in the history of shell-work and embroidery; while some specimens of tapestry are still preserved in the houses of the great, most exquisitely wrought into strange and fantastic shapes by the fair and patient fingers of our female ancestors, on the accession of the house of Hanover.

The long peace with France, while Sir Robert Walpole was prime minister, rendered us more familiar with the continent. The mind began to be attended to as well as the body. The Spectator, published about this period, contributed to diffuse a taste for books; style and composition were cultivated with assiduity; female education assumed more of the appearance of a science, and by being confided to mercenary hands, has at length become a trade!

The spinet (the precursor of the harpsichord) descended in regular gradation from the court to the counter, while taste in every shape and every form began to be cultivated.

At length land dragons and sea monsters, formed of pebbles and cockle-shells, disappeared at the accession of George III. from the mantle-pieces and side-tables of those considered as polite. These were replaced by the produce of the pencil; and drawings under the plastic hand of the fair artist assumed a thousand different hues, all of which were borrowed from nature. Finer tones were at the same time drawn from new instruments; and while the pedal harp exhibited all the symmetry and graceful proportions

tions of a fine person, the introduction of the piano-forte demonstrated that music itself had received no small share of convenience, if not of improvement. Mental talents were at the same time perfected ; ladies not only *read* but *wrote* also. Some of the English Sapphos tuned the lyre to strains that would not have disgraced the poetess of ancient days ; others cultivated all the varieties of prose composition with success ; and the names and accomplishments of a Lambert, a Dacier, and a Motteville, were at length rivalled, if not excelled, by a Montague, a Burnaby, a Carter, and a Barbauld.

The subject of this memoir is liable to the trite and vulgar appellation of *cockney*, having been born in the vicinity of the Temple, in a house afterwards inhabited by Chief-justice Willes, February 22, 1737. Her father, Mr. Ford, was intended for the bar, but having obtained the lucrative and respectable situation of clerk of the arraigns, he changed his original views, and became a solicitor, equally celebrated for his eminence and his extensive practice. Dr. Ford, physician to the Queen, so justly esteemed on account of his knowledge in the obstetric art (the father of the present Sir Richard), was one of her uncles ; another (Mr. Gilbert Ford) was attorney-general for the island of Jamaica.

Being an only child, the education of Miss Ford was cultivated with uncommon care, and at no small expence. By means of English, French, and Italian masters, she at an early period obtained a proficiency in the languages ; while a young lady (the daughter of

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of Signor Planta) was kept in the house as a companion, for the express purpose of affording an opportunity of daily and familiar intercourse with them. Every thing that could flatter a young woman of taste and sentiment, was done to please her. Hone, considered at that period as the Sir Joshua of the day, painted her in the character of a muse playing on a lyre, sweeping the strings of the viol di gamba, and *expressing*, if not uttering, melody. Some years after Gainsborough, an artist who possessed better founded pretensions to genius, also employed his pencil on her portrait ; on which occasion she was represented tuning her harp, and leaning on her own compositions.

She was taught music by the most eminent professors of that day ; and attained such a degree of perfection in dancing, as to draw forth the praises of the polite and accomplished Earl of Chesterfield, who dedicated some stanzas to the express purpose of celebrating her excellence in this art. In respect to drawing, Miss Ford also obtained a happy facility ; and the author of this article has lately seen some slight and unstudied sketches from her pencil, that would not have disgraced the labours of a great master. With such accomplishments, added to an exquisite voice and a good face, it is but little wonder that this young lady should have been at once followed, flattered, and caressed.

Such an education would be at this day very expensive ; it was *then* estimated by her father at from four to five hundred pounds *per annum*. In addition  
to

to this, a chariot, coachman, and footman, were always kept expressly for her use; she was introduced to the best company, and visited the first people in the metropolis.\* They returned the compliment on an afternoon expressly fixed upon for this purpose and Miss Ford's Sunday concerts attracted the notice of all the gay and fashionable world. The following list of her occasional performers (of which the accomplished hostess is, we believe, the only one that

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\* The editor has been at great pains to obtain a list; and it is not without some melancholy reflections that he now publishes it, as not above two or three survive at the present day!

- 1 Duke and Duchess of Montague.
- 2 The present Earl of Aylesbury, then Lord Bruce.
- 3 General Irwin and Lady.
- 4 Lady Jane Scott.
- 5 Lord and Lady Tankerville.
- 6 Lady Lucy Boyle, afterwards Torrington.
- 7 The Dowager Lady Powerscourt, her Son Lord Powerscourt, and her Daughter.
- 8 The Honourable Miss Wingfield.
- 9 Lord and Lady Litchfield.
- 10 Earl of Tyrawley.
- 11 General Guise.
- 12 The present Lord Somers.
- 13 Lieutenant-Governor the Hon. Daines Barrington.
- 14 Lady Betty Thicknesse.
- 15 Two Earls of Jersey and the old Countess.
- 16 Lord and Lady Dowager Bateman.
- 17 Sir Richard Fowler.
- 18 Lady Barrington.
- 19 Sir William and Lady Young.
- 20 The present Lady Laforey.
- 21 Lady Hescotte.

survives)

survives), will perhaps be considered by some as curious, if not interesting :

AMATEURS.		INSTRUMENTS.
1	Late Earl of Kellie, . . .	the violin.
2	— Countess of Tankerville, . . .	the German flute,
3	— Lord Dudley and Ward, ( <i>vocal</i> )	
4	— Lord Bateman, . . .	the viol di gamba.
5	— Sir Charles Bingham, . . .	the German flute.
6	— Marchioness of Rockingham, ( <i>vocal</i> )	never sang but once.
7	— Governor Thicknesse, . . .	theorb, or lute.
8	— Miss Ford (now Mrs. Thicknesse),	the viol di gamba.
9	— Saltero, Spanish guitar, arch-lute, and the piano-forte.	

PROFESSORS.		
1	— Burton, . . .	the harpsichord.
2	— Froud, . . .	2d violin.
3	— Baildon, ( <i>vocal</i> )	
4	— Leoni, . . .	the Spanish guitar.
5	— Paxton, . . .	the violoncello.
6	— Dr. Arne, . . .	the harpsichord.
7	— Signior Tenduci, ( <i>vocal</i> )	
8	— Signior Passerini, . . .	the viol d'amour.

A little anecdote which occurred somewhat anterior to this period, may not be considered as unworthy of insertion in this place. Miss Ford, having been introduced by Mr. Ford, the attorney-general; alluded to above, to the late Lady Huntingdon, they were both invited to dinner on a day and at a time fixed. When the period arrived, Miss Ford was ushered with the rest of the company out of the drawing-room into the parlour; where to her surprise, all the ladies and gentlemen, instead of sitting down to the repast, stood behind their respective chairs, with their faces inclined to the ceiling, while  
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the footmen turned their backs and looked towards the wall. This was but a prelude to what followed ; for her ladyship placing herself at the head of the table, after throwing her features into a variety of contortions, and exhibiting no other portion of her eyes but the *whites*, drawled out or rather sung a long methodistical grace, with strange intonations, and so uncommon a cadence, that although the company, consisting of Lady Selina Hastings and Miss Barlow, the first wife of the late Sir William Hamilton, &c. &c. &c. prepared for, and doubtless accustomed to the ceremony, retained all due gravity and decorum, yet it proved too much for the young lady, who actually *tittered* aloud, to the no small mortification of her more prudent relative. She, however, contrived soon after to make her peace with the Countess, by setting a hymn to music, which we understand is still used in the chapels of this persuasion.\*

The life of Miss Ford now glided smoothly on, until the current was unexpectedly obstructed by one of those untoward accidents which but too frequently occur in life. This young lady had for some time received

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\* " All ye that pass by,  
 To Jesus draw nigh,  
 To you is it nothing that Jesus should die ?  
 Your ransom and peace,  
 Your safety he is,  
 Come see if ever were sorrow like his.  
 For what you have done,  
 His blood must atone !" &c. &c.

a number

a number of civilities on the part of a nobleman who frequented the same company, and was a constant attendant at her concerts. He was indeed old, but at the same time extremely agreeable, gay, and rich. Notwithstanding he was then married to a duchess dowager, yet he still presumed to talk of love; and that lady being supposed to be attacked by an incurable malady, which soon after actually put an end to her life, he was already looking out for a successor. He at last proceeded to such lengths as to declare he was so enraptured with the person and talents of the subject of this memoir, that he would marry her on the demise of his lady, and in the mean time make a settlement of eight hundred pounds *per annum*.

About this period Miss Ford paid a visit to her friend Lady Betty Thicknesse, at Bath; and on her return to town, was introduced to Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of York, and brother to his present Majesty, by the Marchioness of Rockingham. Nearly at the same time she was invited to a theatrical entertainment at the hospitable mansion of the late Sir William Young, and complimented by him and his lady with the nomination of the play. After being repeatedly urged by both, she at length fixed on one of Shakspeare's, and appeared in the principal female character.

Our young heroine must be allowed on this occasion to have possessed advantages over most of her contemporaries: she had been taught to read by Sheridan, the father of the present orator; she was  
well

well acquainted with, and often heard Garrick recite in private; while Mrs. Cibber, with whom she lived on good terms, gave her lessons to qualify her to shine on the stage. But poor Juliet, while rehearsing the window scene, had nearly been consigned to "the tomb of the Capulets;" for she fell from a screen placed on a table, and instead of a mimic death, stood no small chance of being buried in reality.

The noble Lord now felt himself very uneasy at the applause and admiration obtained by the young lady on whom he had set his affections. He renewed the offers alluded to above in a more solemn manner than before; and proposed to bind himself down by the most sacred promises on the one hand, and every legal obligation on the other, to make her his wife; but this coronet *in expectancy* had no charms for Miss Ford, and she accordingly once more rejected his proffers and his conditions, with an additional degree of disdain.

At this critical period, finding herself closely pressed by her father respecting some proposals about settling in life, she was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of flying from the paternal mansion, and of taking refuge in the house of a lady of quality. Here she deemed herself equally secure from inquiry and pursuit: but she proved to be mistaken; for the premises were surrounded by the myrmidons of Sir John Fielding, whose very name carried terror along with it; and a warrant, granted under the signature of that magistrate, having been presented,

presented, all resistance proved vain; so that the young lady was taken prisoner and carried home!

While in the carriage, in her way back, she found herself in company with a gentleman whom she had before seen, who was particularly attentive to her, and soon after seized an opportunity to disclose his passion to her in due form; but he met with a rebuke instead of a kind return, on account of his ill-timed intervention. Mr. Ford, however, deemed him a proper person to be a suitor to his daughter, and his addresses were accordingly encouraged. It was even hinted, that marriage might conquer any *affected* dislike; and that before their arrival in Jamaica, where he possessed large estates, which he was about to visit, they would become a happy couple!

The idea of an union with a man she could not love, and being sent into exile in the West Indies, at a distance from all her friends, appeared intolerable to a young lady possessed of sensibility. She accordingly eloped a second time, and having taken a lodging at Kensington, happily eluded all pursuit. In this situation, instead of resigning herself to grief and melancholy, she determined to turn her talents to advantage, and by one bold effort render herself independent. As she had lived in habits of familiarity with the first nobility, she conceived the idea of rendering their patronage subservient to her scheme. The Opera-House was accordingly hired, and a fine band of music prepared for three nights only. Every one was eager to subscribe; and the  
young

young performer was wooed, like Danaë of old, in a shower of gold.

But this scheme had nearly been deranged, if not entirely annihilated, by her father. He was still vexed, and angry at her having left his house; and he abhorred the idea that his daughter should appear upon the stage for any period, however short, or under any circumstances, however favourable. He accordingly applied to the same magistrate who had before assisted him, and all the avenues to the Haymarket were occupied by Sir John's runners. But these myrmidons were dispersed by the late Lord Tankerville, then an officer in the Guards, who threatened to punish any interposition on their part, at a time *when some of the royal family* were expected to be present; and to enforce his declaration, determined to send for a detachment of horse and foot. On this they immediately disappeared.

The timidity incident to a first performance, was in some measure repressed by the kindness and support of her friends. Prince Edward condescended to drink a cup of tea with her in the green room; on which occasion his equerry, Colonel Brudnel, brother to the Duke of Montague, stood behind his chair, and soon after handed her to the stage door, where she was received with bursts of applause. Nor was the audience disappointed, for when Miss Ford, who was dressed in white satin and pearls, sang one of Handel's oratorio songs, beginning

“Return, O God of Hosts!  
Relieve thy servant in distress!”

she

she displayed such exquisite sensibility, that many of her friends actually burst into tears.

The sum obtained on this occasion was far from being contemptible, for it amounted to no less than fifteen hundred pounds; and if it did not secure affluence even to a single woman, *at that day*, it at least precluded every thing that looked like want. There is, perhaps, no other instance on record in the annals of the English stage, when one person alone entertained a numerous audience during three successive nights, and realized so much at the end of that period.

Some relaxation, after such an exhausting effort now became necessary, and the town itself henceforth ceased any longer to have charms. Miss Ford accordingly left the great world divided into parties concerning her conduct; and having accepted an invitation on the part of Governor and Lady Betty Thicknesse, accompanied them into Suffolk. While there, Lady B. was delivered of a boy, the brother of the present Lord Audley (Feb. 4, 1758); on which occasion, at her own special request, he was immediately carried to our heroine, who tended him with uncommon affection, and actually became the god-mother of her future son-in-law. The real mother did not long survive his birth; for she died a few months after, at the age of thirty-seven.

On this Mr. T. who was greatly affected with his loss, immediately left the spot where she had died; and after paying a last tribute to the virtues, and erecting a monument to the memory, of his departed  
wife,

wife, he consigned the care of his family to the subject of this memoir, who acted during his absence with such discretion and propriety as to ensure entire approbation on his return. Time, absence, and a change of scene at length abated his grief, and he began to think that no one could better supply the loss of his lady than her most intimate friend. After due courtship therefore, and the performance of the necessary ceremonies, this accordingly took place, Sept. 27, 1762,\* and as the union was at first founded on reciprocal esteem, so it was continued during thirty years with unbroken and uninterrupted felicity.

It may not be unnecessary in this place to say something of the gentleman who united his fate with that of the lady in question, not only on account of his being a character of considerable celebrity, but because her future situation and happiness in life was intimately blended with his.

Philip Thicknesse, the author of several well-known literary productions, and the son of a respectable clergyman, was born about the year 1720. He was descended from an ancient and reputable family, the Thickens (for the name was afterwards changed

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\* This might in some measure have been denominated a *public wedding*, as there were upwards of three hundred ladies and gentlemen present upon the occasion. Sir Armine Woodhouse, who attended in a coach and six horses, with new liveries, &c. acted the part of father, and gave Mrs. T. away; Miss Thicknesse was the bride-maid. The Governor's own carriage, which was a very beautiful one, was drawn by two fine white horses, with their tails tied up, and their manes plaited with ribbands.

by an easy and almost imperceptible inversion) of Barterly Hall, in Staffordshire.\* While his brother, afterwards master of St. Paul's school, preferred an academical career, he betook himself to the profession of arms, to which he afterwards added that of letters.

When yet a very young man, he repaired to Jamaica during the time of Governor Trylawney; and after being engaged in a variety of skirmishes with the maroons and runaway negroes in the mountains, he obtained a company by the time he had reached his twentieth year. On his return to England he resided at Southampton, and married Miss La Nouve, a lady of the Berenger family in France, with whom he expected to obtain forty thousand pounds, but was greatly disappointed, for he only received five thousand in money, while his reversionary claims exposed him to great expence and no small share of disappointment. A few years after the death of his first wife he married Lady Elizabeth Touchet, the daughter of the Earl of Castlehaven, with whom he also received about five thousand pounds, with part of which (fifteen hundred pounds) he procured the lieutenant-governorship of Landguard fort, where he resided for some years in easy circumstances:

In point of person he was extremely handsome; his conversation was entertaining; his talents undisputed; his manners elegant and fascinating; he excelled in all the accomplishments of the day; and

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\* It is not a little remarkable that Ralph Thickens served under Lord Audley at Blore Heath during the reign of Edward II.

as he entertained a high and delicate sense of honor, was susceptible in the extreme of every thing that bordered on insult and rudeness. He also possessed on his own part a keen and biting satire, which at once annoyed and overcame his antagonists, so as to realise in some measure his own motto :

“ Sine clade sterno.”

He was of course exposed during a long life, spent in the first-rate society, to several *rencontres* ; but as he was an expert swordsman, made use of his left hand, and all affairs of honour were then decided by the weapon alluded to above, we believe that he generally came off victorious. Let it be recollected, however, at the same time that duels were less ferocious and vindictive then than now ; and that instead of triumphing over a prostrate and dying enemy, the first blood drawn generally put an end to the contest.\*

The

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\* In consequence of some dispute with the late General Vernon, who died Earl Shipbrooke, Mr. Thicknesse sent him a present of a *wooden gun*. This produced an action for a libel by way of *reply*, and indeed constitutes a *new case* on the books, writing alone having, before this time, been usually considered as subject to this appellation. Mr. afterwards Chief Justice De Grey, was counsel for the defendant, and expressed himself greatly astonished “ that the nephew of a renowned commander, the hero of Porto Bello, should bring an action against a brother officer on such a contemptible occasion ;” and the laugh of the day was assuredly against him. But it was no *laughing matter* to his adversary, for Governor Thicknesse was confined for three months in the King’s Bench prison, and fined in three hundred pounds. But his gaiety did not forsake him, for he

The first years of marriage glided smoothly away. During the winter they lived in the Governor's apartments at Landguard fort, where they received and returned the visits of the neighbouring nobility and gentry; and in the summer season they inhabited a pretty little place called Felixstow cottage (now in the possession of Lady Fludyer), at a few miles distance, which was merely a fisherman's hut, converted by the taste of Mr. T., and afterwards embellished by

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had a painting of a gun placed above the door of his apartment (the same afterwards inhabited by Mr. Wilkes), which from that time received the appellation of the *Gun-room*.

On his return to the country, the General declined attending a public dinner until he learned that Governor Thicknesse was not to be there; and he was greatly discomposed on receiving a polite letter from Mrs. Thicknesse intimating, "that if he would be at the ball in the evening, she would meet him *as sure as a gun*." As a proof of his good-nature, however, it ought not to be omitted that he afterwards visited Mrs. Thicknesse at Bath, while Earl Shipbrooke.

The wit of Mrs. Thicknesse, who was represented by the Governor as a lamb to him and a lion to all the rest of the world, proved highly serviceable to her husband on many occasions. When he was *caricatured* by the late Captain Cruikshank of the navy as a handsome man, sitting at his desk with the devil whispering his counsels into his ear, the Governor published another by way of retort, entitled "the Critic criticised." But Mrs. Thicknesse, not content with this, watched an opportunity when this *aged* officer was at Stockdale's, and transmitted a little packet by her footman, which, on being opened in the presence of the company, to the no small mortification of the old gentleman, was found to contain nothing more or less than a child's *slobbering bib*!

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the pencil of his wife into a charming little occasional residence. Here follows a description of it, from the pen of the latter :

“ It was situate at the bottom of a craggy mountain, supported by rocks of different hues, sloping towards a terrace of nearly a mile long, and within a *bowsprit's* length of the main ocean. The reason for ascertaining it to be precisely that distance arose from a laughable circumstance. The inhabitants of the cottage were very much alarmed early one morning on seeing a large Dutch ship of war lying close to the cottage, with the end of her bowsprit within the boundaries of the garden ; nor was she able to be got clear off till it was high water. The entrance to the cottage was through a very large arch, built with stones taken from among the rocks at low water, many of which were of such a size that it required no less than ten men to lift one of them. Between the rock and the margin of the sea was a most beautiful green sod, that both in summer and winter had the appearance of rich velvet. Upon this sod grew many a purple thistle, and also the eringo, or sea holly.

“ When the arch was first built, a large quantity of shingles or small pebbles were sprinkled on the mortar whilst it was wet, mixed with small pieces of looking glass and talc, which made, when the sun shone, a very brilliant appearance. With these were also intermixed small bunches of pinks, double-wall and gilliflowers, which greatly enriched and added to its beauty. From this arch was a serpentine walk that led up to the cottage by a gentle ascent, planted on each side with aromatic shrubs. Over the cottage door a small arch was turned, which was covered with woodbines, and branches of the vine that spread itself with great luxuriancy over great part of the cottage : in front of which was a large window, shaded with apricot-branches on one side and vines on the other. The room to which this window belonged was called the India parlour, being entirely hung with India paper, and furnished with chintz. Above this room, which jutted out from the main building, was a flat roof of lead, over which was a tarpaulin, whereon was placed some garden-chairs, the whole being sheltered by a green painted awning : from this  
roof

roof there was an extensive view of the sea, which exhibited a most picturesque scene, from the infinite number of vessels hourly passing to and fro, of every description, from a man of war down to a fishing boat ; and the setting of the sun afforded such a resplendent spectacle as is beyond the power of language to describe. No one can have any conception of the grandeur of that beautiful luminary that sees it only on land, for the sea glitters for a considerable distance around it, as if it were on fire, when it seems to sink majestically into the ocean.

“ The entrance to the roof was by a small door which opened from an inner room under the thatch. In the garden was a recess adjoining the cottage, about twelve feet in length and six in depth, ornamented with shell-work, and in which the spreading vines were fantastically twined about the lattice-work against the wall : this recess possessed the character of *L'Allegro*, a small well executed figure being placed in a niche in the wall, representing “ Laughter holding both his sides.”

“ At the entrance of the recess was placed a fine figure in lead, the size of a boy of fourteen, in a rustic habit, playing on the tabor and pipe, which was coloured after nature. Further on was a hermit's cell adjoining to a recess, which bore the character of *Il Penseroso*, from which a wicket opened into a cell, where sat at a table a figure representing a hermit, the head and hands of which were finely modelled in wax. It was dressed in a long brown cloth habit, tied round the waist with a cord, from which hung his chaplet : his hoary beard was of a most venerable length. The table was covered with green cloth, and upon it the best edition of MILTON, which opened at the following passage, to which the figure pointed with his finger :

“ A look that's fasten'd to the ground,  
 “ A tongue chain'd up without a sound,  
 “ O sweetest, sweetest melancholy ! ”

“ There was likewise upon the table a small crucifix, a scull, and an hour-glass. The floor and sides of the cell as well as the benches were covered with matting. The south entrance into the cottage was also over-arched with woodbines, and opened into a small entry, the top and sides of which were lined with shells and shingles ; this led into a room called the Roman parlour, from

its being entirely paved with Roman brick, taken from an old ruinous castle half-a-mile distance from the cottage, built by the Romans in the time of Julius Caesar. In this parlour were two large windows which commanded a full view of the sea; the top and sides were entirely covered with shingles, shells, talc, small pieces of looking-glass and spar, besides a great number of small copper coin, dug out of the ruins of the castle.

“ This room opened into a spacious dining-parlour, in which there was a large sash-window that looked into the orchard, wherein the apple-trees were sometimes so loaded with fruit that the branches dragged on the ground: this circumstance used to cause much wonder, being so near the sea.

“ A door led out of this room into a very elegantly furnished drawing-room, in which was a fine organ and a variety of musical instruments; there was also a very costly set of *copue de perle*, consisting of a pair of high candlesticks, a dish, ewer, and bowl, which had been used for the sacrament at a private catholic chapel. On another table was a mirror, the frame of which, as well as a set of dressing-boxes, was green and gold finely varnished, done by the hand of the Countess of Castlehaven, mother to Lady Elizabeth Thicknesse, and also a carpet of her ladyship's needle-work.

“ The furniture was chintz, and the room was hung with blue paper, festooned with flowers exquisitely painted: on the same floor was an apartment, the furniture of which was white muslin; the bottom of the window was nearly level with the floor, so that when it was open one could fancy one's-self seated in the shrubbery, which was filled with the most fragrant aromatics. In the middle of the shrubbery was a small mount, where was fixed a flag-staff, on which, upon particular occasions, the King's colours were hoisted. The kitchen and out-offices were on the north side. There were four bedchambers above; two with a view to the sea, and the others towards the orchard.

“ At the end of the garden was a summer-house converted into an aviary, on the top of it was a pigeon-house. In another corner of the garden was a hut built with two large boats, one was the ground floor, and the other served as a roof.

“ In short, to describe all the romantic beauties and whimsicalities of this cottage would fill many pages: suffice it to say, that it was as delightful an habitation as nature and art could  
make

make it, and in which the taste of Mr. Thicknesse was in every part conspicuous."

Here they enjoyed the company of each other, and also of their friends ; which, together with books and occasional excursions, prevented the approach of that *ennui*, so destructive to the happiness of many people who move in the first circles, and actually become cloyed with pleasure, and subjected to spleen and vapours at the bare idea of tranquillity ! In this charming retreat they also received visits from several persons of fashion ; and we shall seize this opportunity to describe an entertainment given to Lady Dowager Bateman, which appears to have been contrived in the true Arcadian style. It shall be given in the express words of the lady by whom it was projected :

" On the lawn, between the entrance arch and the Roman parlour, was fixed a marquee, in which was a cold collation, consisting of ham, chickens, pastry, fruits, &c. but the greatest dainty of all was some fine lobsters, caught that morning before the door ; a fishing-boat being kept for that purpose.

" When her ladyship was within sight of the cottage, the rustic scene commenced, which was as follows :—a pretty servant girl was seated near to the arch, employed at her spinning wheel, habited in a green stuff gown, faced and robed with pink silk, a pink and white check apron, and a straw hat with pink ribband. About the middle of the lawn sat Mr. Tudor's (Thicknesse's) eldest daughter, dressed as a shepherdess, in a white stuff jacket and coat, trimmed with pea green ribband, a white chip hat tied with the same coloured ribband, and a band of natural rose-buds, a crook by her side fixed to the ground from which flowed a green ribband that held a young lamb. Miss Tudor was playing on the guitar, whilst her little sister danced ; who was apparelled in muslin tied up with bunches of pinks and rose-buds, and a wreath of roses round her head.

" As

“ As soon as her ladyship's carriage was within an hundred yards of the arch, Mr. and Mrs. Tudor went to meet her, when her ladyship walked out, and saluted Mrs. Tudor with great cordiality : her surprise is not to be expressed when she entered the gate, on viewing that which we have just described. The pleasure she felt at so novel and pastoral a scene was easily perceived by her look and manner, which is much more to be depended upon than merely complimentary speeches, which oftentimes mean nothing at all.

“ After taking a view of the cottage and its environs, the company sat down to the festive board, when her ladyship politely expressed her satisfaction, which she was pleased to say surpassed her expectation, though she had heard much of the romantic beauties of the cottage. When dinner was ended the company retired into the drawing-room, and left the servants to regale themselves on the lawn. Every thing being cleared away, the table was again covered with tea and other refreshments, when her ladyship was agreeably surprised to find a beautiful Alderney cow close to the marquee, whose neck and head were ornamented with ribband and natural roses. On her ladyship being seated, the maid began to milk the cow, while Miss Tudor held the bowl ready mixed for a syllabub, of which her ladyship partook, repeatedly expressing the pleasure she felt at the attention that was shewn to her.

“ Lady Bateman having expressed a wish to hear Miss Tudor sing, she sang the following well-known pastoral ballad, accompanying herself on the guitar :

“ What beauteous scenes enchant my sight,  
How closely yonder vine  
Does round that elm's stupendous height  
In wanton ringlets twine.” &c.

“ Her ladyship then was preparing to depart, but on Mr. and Mrs. Tudor expressing a desire to accompany her a part of the way, they all walked to the village, when they took an affectionate leave of each other.

But this mode of life, however charming it might seem, did not possess bustle and activity enough for the disposition of Mr. Thicknesse. He had by this time

time finished his cottage, together with all its ornaments ; the charm of novelty was at an end, and a villa, like a picture, ceases to be interesting to the artist after it has received the last touch, and can be fairly deemed complete. He was besides desirous of amusing his mind by foreign travel, of enjoying the luxuries of France, at the same rate at which necessities were to be then obtained in England, and of seeing and conversing with the celebrated men and women on the continent. To these inducements, perhaps, might be added that of *economy*, arising from the expectation of a large family ; for he had already four children by his former wives, and two by the present.

He accordingly determined to go abroad ; but as a previous step it became necessary to obtain the king's consent to *resign* his government. Lord Townshend, by whose family he had always been countenanced, accordingly applied for this purpose ; but some difficulties arose, which, however, were happily removed soon after, by the intervention of the late amiable Marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman who, to a zeal flaming for public liberty, united a heart susceptible of the warmest friendship. In consequence of his influence, Captain Singleton was nominated to the command of Landguard fort, and such friendly arrangements took place that Mr. Thicknesse was no loser by the appointment.

Every thing being now prepared for the long expected journey, and the cottage sold to Lady Dowager Bateman for four hundred pounds (about half the money

money which had been expended upon it), they first repaired to town, and after a short stay there set out for Dover. Having hired a bye-boat for three guineas, the Governor, with his family, carriage, and horses, sailed for Calais; and on reaching that port, after a short and pleasant passage, lodged at the celebrated inn called *L'Hotel d'Angleterre*, then kept by Monsieur Dessein. From this place, at the theatre of which they saw Mademoiselle Clairon, afterwards so much admired as an actress on the Parisian stage, they made an excursion to Ardres, on purpose to place one of Mr. T.'s daughters in a convent for her education.

Thence, after staying a little time, they set out to visit Cassel, Lisle, Douay, and Cambray, at one of which places a prince bishop (Cardinal de Rohan), since so celebrated in the affair of the diamond necklace, gave great offence to our spirited Englishman, by offering to purchase his horses at any price; but being told that the traveller was not a horse-dealer he desisted, and apologised.

They were quite delighted with the fine broad roads leading to the French capital, paved all the way in the centre, and planted on each side with poplars; but the entrance into Paris afforded a far meaner idea of that city than the approach to London.

Mr. Thicknesse, on his arrival, immediately waited on the Duke of Richmond, then ambassador to the court of Versailles; and when Lady Rochford, the wife of his successor, was presented, he, in company  
with

with the late Duke of Northumberland and several noblemen and gentlemen, was introduced in her train. An entertainment was given upon this occasion by the court, at which the Governor was placed between an Irish peer and a bishop : the *dessert* was superb :

“ This dinner,” says Mr. Thicknesse, in his *Tour to France*, “ was brought to table by a regiment of whiskered Swiss soldiers, while a great number of idle servants stood behind the chairs of their ladies and masters with their hats on ; and what was still more extraordinary, I saw four boys, assistants in the kitchen, stand directly opposite to the Ambassadors and the Duchess de Choiseul with nightcaps on their heads, which no time could have rendered more filthy, and their aprons and other apparel equally obnoxious. This is the ease and freedom for which France is celebrated ; indeed it is such an olio of magnificence, elegance, riches, and poverty, that disagreeable and disgusting objects do not seem to strike the eyes and minds of the natives as they do those of other nations.”

In the account of his *Travels*, published soon after his return to England, the Governor evinced great knowledge both of men and manners. He always exhibited a happy knack at discriminating the French character ; and as his remarks happened to be occasionally seasoned with satire, they were read with an uncommon degree of avidity. After viewing all the adjacent country, he took up his abode in a village in the neighbourhood of one of the palaces, which had for many years afforded a refuge to the unfortunate family of Stuart :

“ St. Germain,” says he, “ is the most beautiful place near Paris ; the situation is delightful. It is situate upon a very high mountain. There are two palaces, and from the gardens and parks

to them is a prospect not inferior, if not superior, to any one in the whole world. You look down upon a most extensive and delightful plain, almost as far as the eye can carry; and this plain is environed quite round with a chain of mountains, on the sides of which numbers of villages, monasteries, windmills, vineyards, gardens, and country seats, diversify the prospect. In the plain, which is spread with villages, you have a full view of the meanders of the river and many islands. From the park you enter a noble terrace levelled by art, near two miles long, supported on one side the prospect by a wall, and sheltered on the other by a noble forest. This terrace and forest is open to coaches; you may indeed do what you will in it but destroy the game, with which it abounds. In the town is a plentiful market. The wine made there and within a few leagues is very tolerable; I have some which cost only two guineas a hogshead, that is as good as I ever desire to drink.

“ Since I have been here I have had the honour to be introduced to many people of the first fashion. This is necessary, for people of rank and fashion never take the least notice of any person that is not properly introduced. Madame la Comtesse de la Marek, sister to the present Duke de Noailles, is the lady to whom I am the most obliged. This lady lives in a delightful house, which the king gave her for life, in the forest of Versailles.

“ Having given an account of other houses,” adds the Governor, “ I shall now describe my own. It is entered by two large gates, where, in a good-sized court, are two coach-houses and stables for four horses; adjoining to which, through an iron gate, are the gardens: there are two, well walled in, and planted with a great variety of wall-fruit, grapes, standard apricois, figs, &c. The house has nothing to recommend it but being large, and having the garden on one side, and a delightful view of Marli and the adjacent country on the other. My rent is six hundred livres a year (twenty-seven pounds sterling), but had I sold the fruit which has even rotted on the trees, it would have produced me half the rent. The grapes will make me a hogshead of wine: the fruit here is in great plenty and delicious, more so than further south. Oranges indeed cannot have the same

flavour, although the fine trees of Versailles do not look as they wanted the power of sunshine. It is certainly much hotter here than in England during the summer months.

“Butcher’s meat, which is of all kinds very good, is to be had for three pence farthing (English) per pound. A man may certainly live better with his family at St. Germain in France, upon three hundred pounds a year, than at Richmond in England upon five. The meat in France is stall-fed, and the beef is excellent: there is no cattle in the kingdom that is not housed every night. There are no inclosures in France; so that a horse let loose at Calais might run to Marseilles, &c.

“A person who kills game in France,” adds he, “without right or leave, is sent to the galleys for life; hence we see partridges running about even at the very walls of Paris. The *fermiers generaux*,” continues our author, “oppress the people beyond conception, who toil from morning to night exposed to the inclemency of all weathers, and yet live a much more wretched life than any of the African slaves in their colonies, or our own. But their lively disposition bears them through all with cheerfulness; and they think they are getting their own bread, while they are in fact toiling for wretches who deserve not the name of men.”

Soon after they were settled at *St. Germain en laye*, they were honoured with a visit from the Earl and Countess of Rochford. On this occasion their excellencies were appositely but unexpectedly received by their polite host and hostess in the hall with a popular tune. Mr. and Mrs. Thicknesse being themselves so placed as to perform on the musical glasses, which were then considered a new invention. The Governor had brought five sets of them from England, and on this occasion he himself played *bass*. An elegant cold collation was served up in another room, which was formed into a bower with the

most

most exquisite attention to nature, here closely and happily imitated. The preparations took up some time, and Mrs. Thicknesse has been heard jocularly to declare, that it occupied no less than a whole week to *lay the cloth!*

“On the approach of their Excellencies, we opened,” says the accomplished hostess, “with GOD SAVE THE KING, whilst they stood at the door, mute with pleasure and surprise at a reception not only so novel and unexpected, but accompanied with such a strain of loyalty. They received as it was meant, a compliment justly due to them as the representatives of our gracious Sovereign and his royal and amiable Consort. We performed it twice, and it was chorused by his Lordship’s chaplain, Mr. Fountain, that very worthy man Mr. Higden, and two ladies who were likewise in the suite.

“This being concluded, we conducted our illustrious visitors into an inner apartment, where we had exerted all our fancy in honour of the day. In this room was a large recess, raised one step higher than the floor, covered with a Persian carpet, on which was placed a crimson velvet chair for Lady Rochford. On the top and sides of the recess hung an elegant festooned drapery painted upon fine Holland. The dinner tables were provided; one of a moderate size, and two very small ones which were fixed backward as wings to the other; over the whole were turned willow arches, which were first bound with green box and myrtles; the front of the large table was conveyed up to the top of the room in the form of a grenadier’s cap covered in the same manner with box and myrtle. In the centre of the cap was

G. R.

in large capitals, the letters being composed of shells, beads, and small bits of looking-glass, and over it

“ZULEISTEIN, SECOND REGIMENT,”

with the same materials.

“Water-glasses were fixed on both sides of the tables at the bottom of the arches, in which the stems of every kind of fruit and flower issued from the water, twining about the arches  
and

and room in a most fantastic manner, to the beauty of which the noble pomegranate branches in full bloom did not a little contribute: these, together with the woodbines, roses, lilies, pinks, and sprigs of orange trees in full perfection, you may easily conceive converted the room into an arbour that could not fail of gratifying two of the senses.

“ A number of small straw-baskets most beautifully embroidered with silk of different colours, hung upon the branches of the box and myrtle, filled with the choicest fruits, and were so placed that her Excellency with great ease ate of them as they hung; in short, the various flowers, vines that clung in clusters, oranges on branches, cherries, apples, pears, peaches, with large boughs of green almonds, were so blended together, as to give an idea of the most rural and delightful bower that imagination can paint !

“ In one part of the large arbour was a blackbird’s nest, so situate among the aromatic sweets, that it might have enticed the owner of it into the house. The little table at one side was characterised as an alchouse at St. OSYTH, in Essex, one of his lordship’s seats: it had the sign of the Rochford Arms, kept by *William and Mary*, servants to his lordship. The other wing alluded to EUSTON, another seat of his lordship.

“ On the middle of the longer table, in a beautifully cut glass reservoir, stood a tall orange tree (alluding to his lordship’s having descended from the illustrious House of Orange), with the fruit and blossoms thereon, which reached nearly to the ceiling; at the top of which was placed a garland of roses, which sustained an Earl’s rustic coronet, made of glass, moss, shells, beads, &c. with the old family motto embroidered in gold:\*

“ TANDES SIT SURCULUS ARBOR.”

“ The orange and pomegranate trees were presented by Monsieur *Le Grand Procureur du Roi* of this town, who is one of the best-hearted as well as the best-bred men I have met with in France.

“ I must not omit to mention, that among the flowers and fruits were interspersed a flower that is not very common even in

\* The new one is “ *Spes durat averum.* ”

France, and never, as I recollect, ever seen in England, of a most beautiful hue, a species of *iris*; we have something in England like it of an inferior sort, of a blue colour; but this, which is called *fleur de flamme*, looks at a little distance the colour of flame, a kind of shot scarlet and yellow variegated with a rich glowing purple; the leaves resemble those of our iris.

“As to the substantial part of the dinner, it consisted only of ham, chickens, peas, beans, and a little pastry; for it was impossible for us to think of giving their Excellencies such a dinner as was suitable to their rank and situation, as it would have been very unsuitable to our purse, and highly improper in every respect: you will be pleased also to consider they came in their private capacity, and as *friends*, and it would have given instead of that satisfaction they felt, and which they so politely expressed, infinite pain for us to have put ourselves to an expence we could not, they well knew, afford; and after all that we could have done, it would have been very much inferior to what they had every day for their own family dinner! so that we could not be stigmatized or ridiculed for being guilty of the greatest of all follies, which some fools are guilty of, aping the magnificent luxuries of the great, till it ends in their ruin!”\*

On his majesty's birth-day, Mr. and Mrs. Thicknesse were invited, with the rest of the fashionable English at Paris, to the hotel of the ambassador; and among other distinguished persons Miss Wilkes, the daughter of the celebrated patriot, was present upon this occasion. The entertainment was splendid, and such as appeared worthy of the representative of a king.

In order that they might have a house ready for their reception on their return to England, which they now proposed to visit, the Governor repaired thither in person, and furnished a pretty little villa

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\*The School for Fashion, vol. ii. p. 196, 197, 198, and 199.

near Welling, in Hertfordshire, about thirty-four miles from London. An unexpected event, however, occurred, which induced them to leave this place ; for Mr. Ford having died at that period, and a small estate in Wales which came by her mother, and had been two hundred years in the family, having devolved on Mrs. Thicknesse, it was determined to repair thither, as the spot was known to be beautiful and romantic, and supposed capable at a small expence of being converted into a most charming habitation.

This place, known by the provincial name of *Quoilca*, was situated on the summit of a steep eminence, or more properly a mountain, the top of which presented a flat space consisting of near twenty acres. It was in the immediate vicinity of Pont-y-Pool, being within two miles of that place ; but it was impossible to approach it in a coach ; and our travellers, as well as the neighbouring gentry, were obliged to leave their carriages below, and ascend on foot. The stranger, if fond of fine prospects, was indeed well rewarded for his toil ; as he was presented with an extensive horizon, and could view around him a circuit of thirty miles of woods, valleys, and hills, whose "cloud-capp'd" summits seemed to advance towards the skies.

Never did any place afford a finer opportunity for improvement ; never did any situation experience a more sudden or more complete transition and metamorphosis. The genius of the Governor taught the barren waste to smile, and converted it into a paradise.

dise. The ancient cottage was enlarged, by being connected with what was technically and indeed properly denominated the *beast house*. This shed, where the cattle were occasionally collected during the severity of winter, was converted into an elegant and extensive drawing-room, for the reception of well-bred men and women ; and as windows were wanting, and could not be easily obtained nearer than Bristol, Mr. Thicknesse discovered an admirable substitute in the plate-glass of his chariot, which was itself borne on the shoulders of the mountaineers, and converted into a summer-house !

In this romantic spot, with the heath surrounding her on every side, and wild flowers springing up under her feet, Mrs. Thicknesse spent her time with great satisfaction. It had been the property of her female ancestors, the Champions,\* probably two centuries, and she herself had helped to embellish it. Here she attended her dairy, fed her poultry, among which was distinguished a fine brood of black turkies presented her by her neighbour Lord Bateman ; and together with these and her other domestic avocations, she spent her time not only comfortably, but delightfully.

An incident, however, occurred that produced a change of situation. By the sudden death of his mother-in-law, Madame La Nouve, Mr. Thicknesse considered himself entitled to twelve thousand pounds,

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\* Sir George Champion was the great-uncle of Mrs. Thicknesse, and grandfather to the present Baroness Deckers.

and had always looked forward to that event, as a provision for his old age, as well as for his family. Accordingly, on its taking place, he immediately repaired to Bath, on purpose to complete the education of his children, and introduce them properly into the world. An opposition which took place on the part of the Berengers was considered as ridiculous, and it was not doubted but every obstacle to his pretensions would be speedily removed. A suit in chancery however took place; and Thurlow, Madocks, and the ablest men at the bar, were retained on his side. A lawyer of reputation, supposed to be well acquainted with the nature and proceedings of that court, actually invited the Governor to dinner on the day when the decision was to take place, on purpose to compliment him on his success; but on its arrival, the disappointment of the client may be easily guessed at, when it is stated, that a final decree subversive of his claims was pronounced by Lord Chancellor Bathurst! An appeal from this sentence was immediately lodged, and it was hoped that the House of Peers, the dernier resort of the subject in this instance, would restore him to his rights; but notwithstanding Lord Camden spoke three hours in favour of a reversal, the former decision was confirmed!

The Governor, instead of yielding to the pressure, bore up manfully against it. Disappointed in what was to solace and comfort his latter years, as well as to contribute to the independence of his family when he should be no more, he took refuge in his library,  
and

and sought for consolation in books and literature.\*

It was about this period that he published the "Wanderer:" he also wrote the "Prose Bath Guide" nearly at the same time; and as he lived but a few doors from Anstey, the author of a Guide in verse on the same subject, they at length became acquainted. But the rivalship of *great wits* generally precludes sincere friendship, and on the present occasion a long, if not a bitter enmity, took place! Governor Thicknesse had by that time purchased a house in the Crescent, the furnishing and fitting up of which served also to occupy a large portion of his time and attention. In addition to this, he built the Hermitage, in the same neighbourhood, most romantically situated on the swell of a hill, then about three quarters of a mile distant from Bath; but as that city has since walked out for

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\* One little anecdote will fully evince the generosity and disinterestedness of Governor Thicknesse. Previously to her death Mrs. Forrester, the widow of Colonel Forrester, a most elegant and accomplished woman, presented him with a large packet of letters addressed to herself by a lady of high rank and celebrity, some of which were of a delicate but interesting nature. After that lady's death, he had prepared them for the press, when Miss Forrester applied to him, and frankly stated that she could obtain a pension of one hundred pounds per annum on condition of delivering them all up to a person of distinction. Notwithstanding the Governor had hoped to derive considerable pecuniary advantages from their publication, yet he immediately relinquished all his pretensions in favour of the daughter of his friend, who was amply and faithfully remunerated in the manner alluded to above.

the benefit of the air into the country, it has long since ceased to possess that *solitary* appearance, which once constituted its chief delight. It was intended as a pretty little retreat, in which Mrs. Thicknesse could educate the children uninterrupted by the cares and the ceremonies of the world.

Here, in 1784, with a laudable sensibility, he erected a rustic monument to the memory of the unfortunate Chatterton, whose sudden and premature death cast a gloom over the face of every cultivated member of society. It consisted of a rude but substantial Gothic arch, raised between two eminences, over which was placed the profile in relief of the much-lamented youth, and underneath an inscription purporting, "that although his days were short and miserable, yet his fame shall live for ever." In the back-ground were placed the very appropriate emblems of a broken lyre, and a young laurel nipped in its prime.

This token of affection to the memory of an accomplished poet, excited great interest, and Mr. Thicknesse's beautiful Hermitage was for some time visited by all persons distinguished for either taste or sentiment. But little did this generous contributor to the fame of others think that this edifice, intended to commemorate departed genius, would be soon after inscribed with the name of a beloved daughter, who was also snatched away in the prime of life and the flower of beauty!

Having now a family of eight children to provide for, and deeming it prudent to go again abroad, as  
he

he imagined he could live any where cheaper than in England, the Governor fixed upon Spain, and determined to remove thither. Having been presented by a friend to the Ambassador of the court of Madrid, at London, he received letters of introduction to the Marquis di Grimaldi, the prime minister, and repaired once more to the continent, determining to bid adieu for ever to his native country, in which he considered himself as having been extremely ill used. On his arrival in France he purchased a cabriolet, on the back of which was inscribed the word "COSMOPOLITE" in golden letters; while a fine painting of Belisarius reduced to want, with the motto of "*Voilà son recompense*," was placed in a conspicuous part.

Mr. Thicknesse had already travelled into France in the year 1765: and we now find him again, on the 20th of June, 1775, at Calais; which he describes as "a sort of enlarged King's Bench prison, where the English fugitives live within *the rules*, and the French inhabitants make it a rule to oppress and distress them." A few days after this he visited his daughter at the convent of Ardres, who assured him she was perfectly happy; and having now settled all his affairs, he proposed to cross the Pyrennees. "Let me tell you," says he, in a letter to a friend, "that as my travelling must be upon a frugal plan, I have sold my four-wheel post-chaise to Mons. Dessein for twenty-two guineas, and bought a French *cabriolet* for ten, and likewise a very handsome English coach-horse (a little touched in the wind indeed) for seven. This equipage I have fitted up with every conveni-

ence I can contrive, to carry me, my wife, two daughters, and all my *other* baggage; you will conclude, therefore, *light* as the latter may be, we are *bien chargées*; but as we move slowly, not above seven leagues a day, I shall have the more leisure to look about me, and to consider what sort of remarks may prove most worthy of communicating from time to time to you."

Having proceeded to Rheims, the capital of Champagne, the Governor found that the bustle occasioned by the coronation of the ill-starred Louis XVI. was not yet over: thence he proceeded first to Dijon, and then to Lyons. At Nismes our travellers visited the *Maison Carrée*, the amphitheatre, the temple of Diana, &c. and it is remarked, that "*here*, where wine and *eau de vie* are so plenty and so cheap too, you seldom meet a drunken peasant, and never see a gentleman (*except he be a stranger*) in that shameful situation."

The Governor, after expressing, considerable disappointment at the appearance of Montpellier, observes, "I am impatient until I have driven my horse from the British to the Mediterranean coast, and looked upon a sea from *that land* which I had often viewed from the sea in the year 1745, when I was on board the Russel with Admiral Medley. I have now completely crossed this mighty kingdom and great continent," adds he, "and it was for that reason I visited Cette. This pretty little sea-port, although out of my way to Barcelona, yet proved to be in *the way* for my poor horse; as I found here a Spanish bark,  
upon

upon which I put part of my baggage. I was obliged, however, to have it opened and examined at the custom-house; and as the officer found it to consist of a bass-viol, two guitars, a fiddle, and some other musical instruments, he very naturally concluded I was a musician, and very kindly intimated to me his apprehensions that I should meet with but very little encouragement in the country to which I was bound."

They now crossed the Pyrennees, and entered Jonquire, the first village in Spain. On finding his *passa porta* demanded in a very uncivil manner at the guard-house, Mr. Thicknesse, in reply to a question relative to the place of his birth, answered that he was "a Hottentot!" He had now a specimen of Spanish cookery, Spanish beds, Spanish bills, Spanish custom-house officers, and Spanish inns, with window frames without glass, rooms without chimnies, and beds consisting of mattresses alone, without curtains.

On the other hand, our travellers themselves occasioned no small degree of surprise to the inhabitants; the Governor, dressed after the English manner, was seated on the fore part of a *cabriolet*, drawn by one horse, with a servant before, who acted in the original character of a *footman*, with his hair *en queue*; a monkey clothed after the French manner, in jack boots and a red jacket laced with silver, acting the part of a postillion; his *belle esprit* wife with two daughters seated within; guitars and bass-viols, together

gether with a parrot, placed in proper order ; and an English dog instead of a groom behind !

On their arrival at Barcelona a variety of unfortunate events took place, which tended not a little to render that city disagreeable to them. In consequence of this, instead of delivering his letters of recommendation into the hands of the prime minister (the Marquis di Grimaldi) at Madrid, he deemed it necessary to transmit them by post. This nobleman immediately returned an answer by a special courier, but it was soon evident that the attentions of his Catholic Majesty's chief favourite did not render him the more agreeable to the principal persons in the city where he had taken up his residence.

He therefore left Barcelona ;\* visited Montserrat,

\* During his residence at this place, Governor Thicknesse appears to have carried on an epistolary correspondence with the Marquis Del Campo ; who was bred at the Blue-Coat School in London, enjoyed at that period a confidential situation in the Secretary of State's office at Madrid, and was afterwards sent over here in the quality of ambassador to the court of St. James's. This gentleman at length informed the "Cosmopolite" that it was the intention of the Spanish Minister to employ him in an honourable situation, and he accordingly advised him to leave the place where he then resided, and approach the capital, on his arrival in which he would receive further information relative to the intentions of the Spanish government. On this the "Citizen of the World" soon discovered himself a "true-born Englishman." Honours, employment, and wealth, now appeared within his reach : but he revolted at the idea of being placed in any situation that might prove detrimental to the interests of his native country, and eagerly seized the first favourable opportunity of returning home.

a steep

a steep and picturesque mountain, where there is a convent dedicated to *Neustra Senora del Montserate*, "to which pilgrims resort from the furthest parts of Europe, some bearing, by way of penance, heavy bars of iron on their backs, others cutting and slashing their naked bodies with wire cords, or crawling along on all-fours, like the beasts of the field." There, however, the governor appears to have spent a few of the happiest hours in his life!

Being now determined to return, he took his measures accordingly; and it being contrary to the laws of Spain to carry more than a certain quantity of coin out of the country, "he therefore had a very large French *queue* made up, within which was concealed his money," and re-entered France without any difficulty with his *tête d'or*.

Having visited Perpignon, Nismes, Arles, Marseilles, Avignon, and Lyons, after mentioning the curiosities of these, he observes that in this last city he has seen "a lady's sack finely tamboured by a captain of horse, and a white bosom exhibited through meshes netted by the man who made the snare in which he was himself entangled."

Having now visited Paris, after ten years absence, he and his family remained there but a short time: "as walking the streets is extremely dangerous, riding in them extremely expensive, and when those things which are worthy to be seen (and much there is very worthy) have been seen, this city becomes a melancholy residence for a stranger who neither plays

at cards, dice, or deals in the principal manufacture of that place, *i. e.* ready made love, a business which is carried on with more success and more decency than even in London."

Having revisited Calais in less than a year after his departure, he soon after returned to England.

During this, which proved to be his last residence in his native land, while spending a few weeks in the neighbourhood of Hythe, he happened to observe a deserted barn, in a small village\* on the sea-coast, and he determined to try the effects of his creative genius on it. It possessed a fine view of France, and in a clear day the steeples of Boulogne might be discerned by a good glass, while the hills around it were discernible to the eye of every common observer. Standing by itself on the beach, it presented every advantage in point of situation and prospect; but it was nothing better or worse than a tobacco-warehouse, unshapely in point of form and appearance, which had been abandoned by the manufacturer, and might then be purchased for a trifle.

It was purchased accordingly, and a sudden transformation took place. A large glass window inserted into the gable-end facing the sea presented a prospect at once noble and sublime. Partitions converted it into separate apartments; a parlour adorned with drawings by Mrs. Thicknesse, a kitchen, and a suite of bed-chambers, were produced as if by enchantment, while a gilded crescent placed on

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\* Sandgate.

the roof gave an appearance of taste and whimsicality to the whole.\*

The daily sight of the continent in time, however, became *infectious*, and the governor for the last time visited Calais about the memorable period of the revolution. He rejoiced that Liberty had *stolen* into France; but he doubted, from his knowledge of the people, whether they were capable of making either a right estimate of her benefits, or a proper use of her blessings. Above all, he deplored the situation of the unfortunate King, whom he considered as weak but not guilty, and therefore a martyr rather than a criminal. On this occasion he drew up several memorials in his behalf, even after he had become a prisoner; but he soon saw that his fate was inevitable, and that a multitude of others would be involved in his ruin. The popular cry of

“Guerre aux chateaux!  
Paix aux chaumières!”

menaced all the nobles; and as he at that period resided in the *palace* † formerly belonging to the Duchess of Kingston, his own situation was not altogether comfortable.

To avoid the storm, he let his house in the Crescent at Bath on lease to a lady of quality; and having obtained

\* The author of this article has sat in the Governor's travelling carriage, then converted into a summer-house, and contemplated the scenery around him with a delight bordering on rapture.

† Mr. and Mrs. Thicknesse rented a superb *suite* of apartments in this mansion for only 35*l. per annum!*

bills from Messrs. Hammersley and Co. the bankers; he set out for Italy in 1792, where he proposed to stay two or three years; but on the day after his leaving Boulogne he fell down in a fit, while travelling in his carriage, and expired in the arms of an affectionate wife, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Mrs. Thicknesse immediately returned to Boulogne, in order to prepare for the interment of her husband; nor was she inattentive to his memory; for she gave orders to erect a monument to it, and at a considerable expence (1500 livres) collected the necessary materials, which have been spared amidst the tempest of the revolution; for they are at this moment on the very spot where they were originally placed. But it was otherwise in respect to her own person; for she was soon after arrested along with several of the English, and confined with Lady Styles, the wife of Governor Paterson, Mrs. Tuffnel, &c. in the convent of the Ursulines.\* She still cherishes, however, her

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\* The situation of the English imprisoned in this convent was far more horrible than has been usually supposed. At first, indeed, they were treated with great attention; and, to the honour of Barret and the other municipal officers, every thing was done to alleviate their unhappy lot. But no sooner did the system of terror prevail, and Robespierre rule France with an iron rod, than they were consigned to the superintendance of the inhuman *Joseph le Bon*, and closely and rigorously confined.

After a waggon filled with nobles had left the jail, in order to their execution, it was suddenly intimated to them, that they were about to be transferred to the *Annunciato*, the front windows of which had been closed up. Mrs. Thicknesse, who was well acquainted

her original intentions ; and is resolved, at the close of the present war, to complete a work intended to commemorate her affection and esteem.

Mrs. Thicknesse is in many respects the most singular, and it may be added, perhaps the most accomplished woman of her day. She has attained the period of sixty-eight years, without any of the marks usually accompanying old age. Her teeth are as sound and to the full as white as those of a girl of nineteen. Her light-brown hair is braided around her head, without the least admixture of grey, or

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quainted with the language of the country, and conversed frequently with the principal *patriots* as they were termed, knew this to be the signal for death ; as she had learned that the British subjects were to be first stripped of their money, jewels, and clothes, and then murdered ! In consequence of her intercession, a delay of a few hours took place in the execution of the sentence (the magistrates on this occasion risking their heads rather than obey such a cruel mandate !) and in the mean time Robespierre, together with his associates, after being made prisoners themselves, were led to the scaffold, and experienced that punishment which they had so frequently inflicted on others.

Subsequently to this the lot of the English was gradually meliorated, and that of Mrs. Thicknesse in particular. A decree having passed, enacting that all such as could gain their livelihood by their labour should be instantly liberated, she immediately sent specimens of her talents to the members of the district, consisting of manuscript music, drawing, and literature. Some difficulty occurred at first, as it was not readily comprehended how the widow of a Governor, and the mother (mother-in-law) of a Peer, whom they considered as a *noble* herself, and therefore *suspected*, could be included in the class alluded to above. But Dumont, the representative on mission, interposed, and her liberation was immediately effected.

any appearance of change; while an uninterrupted series of health and a happy flow of animal spirits almost entitle her to expect that she will attain the age of the celebrated Countess of Desmond.

She still writes a fine, clear, intelligible *Italian* hand, that bespeaks vigour and strength of nerve; and such is the goodness of her eye-sight and her powers of execution that she has lately, in the way of trial, inscribed the Lord's Prayer in distinct characters within the circumference of a wafer.

In respect to the languages, she early attained a proficiency in them, and was of great service more than once to Mr. Thicknesse in the course of his literary pursuits.\* She in particular translated for

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\* Mr. Thicknesse at one period exercised his invention by an attempt to construct a cypher which no one should be able to explain. His wife on this proposed to carry on a correspondence by means of two books of the same edition, every page, nay, every line of which should serve as a complete variation, while the key was always at hand.

She observed, at the same time, that she could herself construct a letter, every word of which should be French, yet no Frenchman should be able to read it, while an *illiterate* Englishman or Englishwoman should decypher it with ease.

Here follows a specimen of this *jeu de mots* :

Pre, dire sistre, comme & se us, & passe the dé here if yeux canne, & chat tu mi dame, & dine here; & yeux mai go tu the faire if yeux plaise; yeux mai have fiche, mutin, porc, buter, foule, hair, fruit, pigeon, olives, sallette, for ure diner, & excellent te, café, port vin, & liqueurs; & tell ure bette & poli tu comme; & Ile go tu the faire & visite the Baron. But if yeux dont comme tu us, Ile go tu ure house & se oncle, & se houe he does; for mi dame ses he beant il; but doux comme mi dire, yeux canne ly here yeux nos—if yeux love musique yeux mai have the harpe, lutte, or viol here.—Adieu, mi dire sistre.”

him

him the account of all the offerings to the Holy Virgin, which appears in his travels through Spain, from the language of that country.

She converses fluently in French, and the following is a specimen of a translation from the Italian :

- " As Love a rose was plucking,  
 " A bee its sweets was sucking,  
 " His tiny godship wounded ;  
 " Who at the smart astounded  
 " To Venus flew complaining :  
 " Oh, oh, my hand, what pain in !  
 " Oh, dear mamma, I'm dying !  
 " A little serpent flying,  
 " That's call'd in vulgar tongue bee,  
 " Has stung to death, has stung me !"  
 " The Queen of Beauty smiling,  
 " Assuag'd his grief this style in :  
 " If bees by shallow dartings  
 " Can cause such wond'rous smartings,  
 " Don't thy darts, wanton urchin,  
 " Go far more deep and searching !"

The following *extravaganza*, written by her and set to music, gave great delight to the beautiful Lady Coventry, to whom it was presented :

Si tutti gli alberghi del mondo  
 Fossero penne  
 I cielo fosse carta  
 Il mare inchiostro  
 Non bastarenno a deservire  
 La minima parte del vostro perfezione.

The Prior of Vendome, an admirer of the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, being angry at the preference given to his rivals, left the following lines

1805-1806

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upon

upon her toilette: these, together with the reply, were set to music by Mrs. Thicknesse.

“ Indigne de mes feux,  
Indigne de mes larmes,  
Je renonce sans peine  
A tes foiblesse apas.  
Mon amour tes prête des charmes,  
Ingrate, ingrate, que tu n’avez pas.”

NINON’S ANSWER.

“ Insensible a tes feux,  
Insensible a tes larmes,  
Je te vis renonce mes foiblesse apas,  
Mais si l’amour prête des charmes,  
Pourquoi donc que tu n’avez pas.”

In addition to the accomplishments already mentioned, the subject of this memoir draws and paints, both on paper and velvet, with great accuracy and elegance. Some of her productions would assuredly entitle her to the silver pallet of the Society of Arts, while many who make this their sole profession, and acquire from it their only livelihood, would find it no easy matter to equal the grace and delicacy of her pencil.

In respect to music, she was considered as one of the finest singers of her day, and in point of compass and sweetness is thought by some, particularly Rauzzini, to have rivalled the Billington. The second and last public exercise of this talent reflects high honour on her humanity, as it gave rise to a charity, of which she assuredly possesses the best claims

claims to be considered at once the patroness and the founder.

While she resided in the city of Bath, Mrs. Thicknesse was informed by one of her domestics that a poor labourer had fallen from a scaffold in the new buildings, that the bone of his leg was broken into a compound fracture, and that he was refused admittance into the pauper hospital. On inquiry she found this extraordinary tale to be true; for as the hospital in question was intended for *strangers* alone, the directors of that institution had not deemed themselves justifiable, upon the occasion alluded to, to deviate from the original rules.

On this, after immediately providing for the exigency of the present case, she determined to interest herself for the future accommodation of objects so well entitled to compassion. Accordingly, on consulting with the Governor, the Rev. Mr. Sibley, &c. &c. she gave notice that she intended to sing on a certain day for the benefit of a new charity. The novelty of the circumstance, added to the celebrity of Mrs. Thicknesse's name, drew crowds to Mr. Griffith's chapel, the organ of which she accompanied with her voice; and two gentlemen being placed at the door with silver plates, the oblations, which were principally in *gold*, amounted to a considerable sum. It was thus that she gave birth to the present Casualty Hospital; and we could wish that her picture, painted by Gainsborough, and now at Bath, were placed in the principal apartment.

Mrs. Thicknesse has written several books, One,

entitled "Sketches of the principal literary Ladies of France," in addition to a biographical account of these, contains an analysis as well as specimens of their respective publications. This produced many civilities, as well as a present of all her works, from the celebrated Madame de Lambert; together with a contribution of about 200*l.* on the part of the English bookseller. A correspondence with the Duke of Richmond, which was considered by some as *piquant*, contributed something, perhaps, to the sale.

In 1800 appeared "The School for Fashion," in 2 volumes, 8vo, which assumes the appearance of a novel, and where many characters who had figured in public life, either appeared with their initials, or under feigned names. That of Euterpe is supposed to have been designed for herself, Mr. Tudor stood for Lieutenant-Governor Thicknesse, Lord Guernsey for the late Lord Jersey, Doctor W. for the late Doctor Warner, formerly chaplain to the English embassy at Paris, Cordelia Mrs. Cibber, Roscius Mr. Garrick, Lady Elizabeth Tudor Lady Elizabeth Thicknesse, &c. &c.

We have been assured, that all the anecdotes mentioned there are founded on fact, and contain an exact transcript of what occurred in the history of the *bon ton* of a former day.

Throughout the whole of this work, the author endeavours, as on every other occasion, to inculcate lessons of virtue and piety, and is almost *outrageous* against the vices and follies of the present period. In the first volume is a "Dedication to Fashion," from which

which here follows a quotation, that we trust will impress the *intelligent* reader with a high opinion of the author.

After declaring, "that instead of conciliating favour and patronage by the seducing power of adulation, by gilding falsehoods, and flattering misrepresentation," it will be her endeavour "to deserve, if not to obtain, protection, by unfolding the follies, indecorums, and crimes, of her patroness," she proceeds as follows :

"I therefore declare, Madam, that you are at this moment employed and occupied in the introduction of those manners and that profligacy which brought on the ruin of a neighbouring kingdom, have involved Europe in all the miseries that now oppress it, and, if suffered to advance to maturity, will shortly corrupt, and in the end annihilate, the boasted virtue and honour of Great Britain.

"There never was a period, and I assert it, fearless of contradiction, though with an aching heart, when your influence was so baneful to morals, so obnoxious to honour, and so hostile to domestic happiness, as in the day that is passing over us. But though I cannot allow you one solitary good quality, I am ready to do you justice, by acknowledging your genius, however misapplied, and your penetration, however ill directed.

"You well know that men, from the nature of their occupations, from the objects which they pursue, and the passions that govern them, are not altogether subject to your controul; it is therefore to the women, and to the men who resemble women, that you direct your peculiar and insidious attentions.

"You well know the potency of female influence in an high state of civilized society. In short, you well know, that if you can enslave, or in other words, if you can corrupt the women, if you can infuse into the female character a fanatical disposition to attend upon your altars, your reign will be secure, and your dominion supreme. Hence it is, that you employ so much art to influence

fluence the higher orders of the female world from the cradle to the grave. Hence it is, that you superintend female education, from a state of infancy to the grand epoch of being presented at court. Hence it is, that you conduct your votaries through various scenes of gaiety, display, and dissipation, to the altar; and from thence, through all the negligence of maternal duties, and the indulgence of matured passions, to the final resources of cards or devotion: for in some cases,

“ Vous donnez à Dieu

“ Les restes du diable.

“ Your original power was confined to the labours of the loom, and the toil and taste of milliners and mantuamakers, to the shape and colour of upholstery, and the exterior decoration of the useful apparatus of life. And while you confined yourself to these objects, your office was at least inoffensive and innocent. It can be of little consequence to morality, religion, and general manners, whether women wear large hats or small hats, whether their waists are long or short, or whether they chuse to wear wigs or their own hair. Such arrangements do not deserve a serious consideration. But when you presume to dictate, or rather destroy principles, and influence manners; when you take upon you to occupy the place of reason and experience; when you assume the province of forming character, the consequences become very alarming and dangerous to the health, the virtue, and happiness of the female world.

“ In your progress to complete the conversion which you have in view, you exert all your endeavours to undermine those qualities which must prove the great obstacle to your designs. You have, indeed, been for some time most wickedly active and fatally successful, in banishing modesty from your circles. Hence it is, that the fashionable young women of the present day indulge themselves in a mode of conversation, a latitude of expression, and a freedom of demeanor, which the courtesan of a former period would have blushed to practise.

“ Hence it is, that we find elegant, high-born girls of sixteen, in possession of all the knowledge which they ought not to know,

and

and their grandmothers never appeared to have known. This is the first step to profligacy, because a want of modesty in the single state, leads readily to the sacrifice of chastity in the married character. Dress may run through all its variations, from simplicity to gaudiness, from splendour to the fantastic, without any violation of decorum or moral duty ; but the present mode of appearance which is adopted by many persons in superior life, is a very high degree of immorality, because it is indecent and immodest : because it is a shameful defiance and contempt of those qualities which are considered by reason and religion as the brightest ornaments of the female character. There is, indeed, little doubt, if one of those unhappy women who have abandoned themselves, or been abandoned by their seducers, to prostitution, were to appear in any public place, in that shocking half-clothed state in which so many persons of rank present themselves to fashionable assemblies, that she would risk a submission to the penalties of Bridewell.

“ The time was, when you were nothing more than the regulating minister of the forms and exterior appearance of those ranks in life which require a moderate attention to them. You then possessed an useful influence to which a submission might be practised without inconvenience or dishonour. But the time now is, when you are become the schoolmistress of vice and immorality, when the dæmon of impudence is your idol, and when the paths in which you conduct your disciples lead to profligacy, to ruin, and a premature sepulchre.

“ But though your power, I fear, is increasing, there is, I doubt not, still remaining a sufficient stock of virtue, which, if brought into exertion, would not only check but destroy it. During this season which our holy religion has set apart for a more particular review of our spiritual state and condition, the parish church of St. James has been weekly crowded to inconvenience with persons, and particularly women, of rank, wealth, and distinction, to hear an eloquent, learned, and pious prelate\* expound the principles

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\* The Bishop of London.

of christianity, enforce its duties, display the celestial blessings which await the good, and denounce the punishment which will one day tread on the heels of transgression. His labours and the example of other distinguished persons, will, I trust, arrest you in your wicked career. Nor am I without the hope, that the following pages, humble and inferior as they are, and must be, will be found to aid the cause of virtue ; that they will tend to diminish your abominable influence, to restore the reign of decency, decorum, and good morals, and promote a saving sense of honour, virtue, and religion, among the female youth of my country.—A. T.”

To the honour of Mrs. Thicknesse, all her works have been dedicated to the promotion of virtue and religion: and even the account of herself, under a feigned name, carries a moral along with it for the benefit and instruction of young women: as she observes, “ That by preserving unsullied her reputation and virtue, Euterpe obtained the greatest bliss heaven could bestow, in giving her to a man of sense, honour, and virtue. Their conjugal happiness,” it is added, “ was almost without example, nothing but death being able to interrupt it, during the space of thirty years.”

So exquisite is her respect for female delicacy, that the subject of this memoir loudly condemns the custom of applying to male *accoucheurs* ; and she herself was delivered of all her children, two of whom only survive,\* by the assistance of her own sex alone. Neither her literary admonitions, however, nor the brilliant and uniform example of the queen,(with the

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\* A son, Captain John Thicknesse, promoted to the rank of a commander in the navy, Jan. 29, 1800, and a married daughter, exception

exception of one solitary instance) has been able to abolish a custom which becomes daily more prevalent.

The masculine habiliments, and equestrian attire, of fashionable life, has also been considered as a fit subject for her satire: and it must be allowed, that there is something truly ridiculous in a delicate young lady wearing a large great coat, crowded with capes, and affecting to *drive* with all the prim precision, vulgar attitudes, and affected grimace of her own coachman.

Mrs. Thicknesse possesses a sincere belief in the truths of revelation. She is a member of the church of England, without pretending to blame, or even to criticise, those of a different persuasion; and she evinces on all proper occasions that decorous attachment to the interests of religion and humanity, so becoming in any, and so indispensable in a woman of a certain age.

Without meaning to flatter, it is here freely, but sincerely observed, that in point of the languages, music, drawing, and other similar acquirements, few, very few, if even one lady, is to be met with who has retained either a knowledge of, or a taste for them, to so remote a period in life. Age seems to have spared her accomplishments, like her teeth and hair, from decay; and that she may enjoy and exhibit the talents of a Ninon to the same remote period as that celebrated Frenchwoman, is the sincere and ardent wish of the author of this article.

## MR. JOSEPH PASLEY,

## THE GRETNA-GREEN PARSON.

O worthy thou of Egypt's wise abodes ;

A decent priest, where monkeys are the gods.      POPE.

IF the following account of this extraordinary PUBLIC CHARACTER appears in any instance to be somewhat fabulous, the writer begs leave to inform his readers that the anecdotes are authorized by his own declarations. Should it still be urged that some allowance ought to be made when a man boasts of such extraordinary personal achievements, the objection, at least in this instance, is misapplied ; as what is most extraordinary in this relation has been confirmed by witnesses worthy of credit.

Joseph Pasley was born in the parish of Kirkan-drews upon Esk, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1732. His father was a dissenting clergyman, and he himself, when young, was bound apprentice to a tobacconist, but left that business as soon as he possibly could. He then earned a livelihood as a fisherman, in which capacity he was distinguished by his great dexterity, as well as by the extraordinary fatigues to which he submitted. He asserts, that he was superior to all his neighbours in the use of the *lister*, which is an instrument in the form of a trident generally from twelve to fourteen feet long, used in the north of England to strike the salmon when they are observed either swimming or at rest, both in fresh  
and

and salt water. He adds, that he has stood up to the middle in the sea twenty hours together, until he became so weak as scarcely to be able to leave it.

He states, that he entered upon his present, a far less fatiguing vocation, near half a century since. The profession did not exist, or at least was not very necessary, and perhaps not very lucrative, before the passing of the statute commonly called Lord Hardwicke's act, containing the existing English law upon marriage, which was about fifty years ago. Joseph Pasley has therefore been first a tobacconist, then a fisherman, and now he officiates in one of the essential characters at least of a clergyman; but never was a blacksmith, according to vulgar and unauthorized report. When he had assumed the office of marrying such as applied to him for that purpose, he was styled the "Gretna Priest;" after a rival had started up, he was, and still is, denominated the "Gretna High Priest."

What concurrence of fortunate events introduced him into this situation, is not distinctly known. As it cannot be attributed to instinct, it must be considered as chance: for let it not be understood that Joseph Pasley, although a high priest, ever was a pastor either in kirk or church. He does not appear, indeed, to practise any other part of the ecclesiastical functions than that of *joining of hands*. His conversation seldom, if ever, turns upon religious subjects. His delight indeed is, with brandy before him, to talk about brandy until he cannot talk at all.

For this favourite liquor he has such a marked predilection, that he never willingly permits it to be

debased by any intermixture whatsoever. After a long acquaintance with it, he pronounces that those *fiery particles* which induce others to dilute it with water, exist only in a disordered imagination. And the writer of this article, after seeing him drink off an immoderate quantity, to all appearance with infinite satisfaction, has heard him declare that it went down like new milk.

His exploits as a *drinker of brandy* have been, as might be expected from a man of such singular opinions, extraordinary in the extreme. He is accustomed to relate, in the presence of concurring witnesses, that he has swallowed a pint of it at one draught. He dwells with complacency on a celebrated achievement, of which he shared the glory with a great brother-drinker: they consumed without any assistance whatsoever, no less than ten gallons of liquor in three days ! When nature was exhausted, they retired to a bed with their favourite beverage beside them. He maintains therefore, with seeming justice, that the continuity of drinking was never dissolved, and that he and his friend had the honour of carousing three days and three nights, as well as of quaffing forty quarts of spirits.

This account will appear still more wonderful, when it is added, that in spite of all these excesses, and notwithstanding he has arrived at the advanced age of seventy-two, he still retains health and strength. With a steady hand, he even now holds out a glass of brandy, to look at, before he swallows it, and is a stranger to head-aches, as well as all the other  
maladies

maladies that affect inferior drunkards. Indeed so suitable and congenial does this strong drink appear to his nature, that he never looks more dignified or venerable, than when sitting in his chair after an indulgence that disables him from leaving it.

Before concluding this part of the character of so celebrated a toper, it will perhaps be proper to answer an inquiry that may be started concerning the esteem in which he holds whiskey, the favourite liquor of the north. When the question was put to him, he said, "that he disdained to tipple with stuff by means of which all the women in the town got drunk!"

Mr. Pasley must now be described as a Priest, if it be not a profanation of the term, as applied to him. When a carriage drives up with a fond couple, it is his first business to obtain from the post-boy a hint of their probable circumstances. This is communicated by a *look* and not by a *cant word*, as might be supposed. From that moment he knows what should be his demand, and from this he never recedes, unless he becomes convinced that it cannot be complied with, or that he suspects the parties to have been informed that he has a rival and are disposed to apply to him. The priest and high priest of course do not act in concert. The latter despises the former as an impudent upstart and intruder; while the former, who really cannot look upon himself as much better, does not hope to obtain business from an established character, and therefore works in his calling at under prices. This has materially

terially injured the profession in this famous mart of Hymen, and may some day produce dangerous innovations.

A circumstance now follows, which displays Mr. Pasley's profound knowledge of human nature, and the useful purposes to which he applies it. All the money being paid that can be obtained from the gentleman, he desires the lady to step aside with him, as part of the ceremony. When they are together he opens a new demand upon her pocket: paints the disgrace and imputations to which she must be subject, if she should return from Gretna without being married; and threatens to defer the ceremony, unless she makes him a present. Perplexed and terrified at this dreadful menace, she seldom dares to refuse compliance. By this method he generally manages to extort from one to five guineas, and has frequently obtained much larger sums.

A couple that arrives in tolerable style, is seldom married indeed for less than ten pounds; the demand sometimes exceeds fifty pounds, and twenty pounds is the sum most commonly given on those occasions.

Mr. Pasley has been known to make one hundred pounds in a week, and he seldom earns less than from five to six hundred pounds a year. A man who is expensive in nothing but brandy, might be expected to save considerably from such an income. When the writer of this narrative asked him this question, he answered: "Yes, to be sure, I have a  
great

great deal of money in the bank." In what bank? was demanded with great simplicity; to which he replied quaintly, "In the bank of Venus."

Couples of every description thus apply to the Gretna high-priest. He has therefore prices of every degree, in all cases frankly asking the most that can be got. A soldier may be made a husband for a bottle of brandy, and in a case of desperate poverty for a *higb gill*.\*

The money being paid, Mr. Pasley then proceeds to celebrate the marriage. He attempts industriously to cast a veil over this ceremony, as his part is too simple to be exposed to the eyes of his townsmen, who would soon be both able and willing to participate in so lucrative a business when they knew how to carry it on.

To add to its importance, he introduces a *formula* which is not necessary. The law of Scotland seems to require only that the parties should acknowledge themselves man and wife, before witnesses, in order to constitute a marriage. The high-priest therefore is serviceable only as a living testimony. However, he thinks proper to read a part of the service of matrimony in the liturgy of the English church; and according to the form of that composition, he says to the man, "Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife?" &c. and to the woman, "Wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband?" &c.

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\* High gill is a corruption of Hawick Gill, Hawick being a place in Scotland where the English measure is used. Those who are as poor as soldiers, are treated with the same indulgence.

When the ring is put on, he desires the man to repeat after him, "With this ring I thee wed," &c. And after all this has been performed, he declares the parties to be "husband and wife." Such, according to his own declaration, is part of the ceremony, and probably this is the whole of it. He will not, indeed, confirm the supposition, and a reference to a couple married at Gretna might not possibly clear up the doubt; for neither of them could scarcely be expected to recollect what passed at such a time:—after having travelled some hundreds of miles to the dinner, who could be expected to be attentive to the grace before it?

In Scotland there are two kinds of marriages—regular and clandestine. Mr. Erskine, in his *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, says, "It is not necessary that marriage be celebrated by a clergyman. The consent of parties may be declared before any magistrate, or simply before witnesses. When the order of the church is observed, the marriage is called regular; when otherwise, clandestine. Towards a regular marriage the church requires proclamation of banns in the churches where the bride and bridegroom reside. Formerly not only bishops but presbyteries assumed a power of dispensing with proclamation of banns on extraordinary occasions; but this has not been exercised since the revolution."

"Marriage," says M'Dowall, in his *Institute of the Law of Scotland*, "is either solemn or clandestine. A solemn marriage is that which is celebrated

brated by a minister of the established church, or one having the benefit of the toleration act after due proclamation of banns. This ought to be done three several Sundays in the churches respectively where the parties frequent divine service ; but if they belong to any episcopal meeting, it must be done in their congregation, and likewise in the parish churches where the parties reside ; and in case the minister of such parish shall neglect or refuse to publish the banns, it is declared sufficient, if done in the episcopal congregation alone. But the public solemnity is only a matter of order, and not essential to marriage ; and therefore by the law of Scotland not only a marriage solemnized by a minister or priest is good, but likewise cohabitation as man and wife sufficiently ascertains the marriage, provided it be not called in question during their joint lives. Notwithstanding the clandestine marriages are equally binding with solemn ones, certain penalties are imposed upon the parties who thereby act contrary to the order of the law : these are imprisonment for three months, and a penalty upon the parties, with perpetual banishment or other arbitrary punishment upon the person who solemnizes the marriage."

It is probably from what is stated in the concluding part of Mr. M'Dowall's opinion, that an idea which prevails at Gretna of its not being safe for Mr. Pasley to marry a Scotch couple is well founded ; but the fine and punishment are not understood to extend to the inhabitants of England. Certain it is, that Mr. Pasley very cautiously observes the distinc-

tion, and that his neighbours highly applaud his prudence. This compliance, however, affords no conclusive argument that it is so; for however calculated to tie the Gordian knot, he is by no means distinguished as a reasoner.

“Marriage,” says a Scotch lawyer, “is perfected by sole consent, for carnal knowledge is only the consummation.” But the Gretna high-priest does not understand this subtle distinction, and he will not furnish a certificate until he has seen the parties in a situation which must be shocking to the delicacy of a well-bred female. Of this certificate he preserves a duplicate, which is regularly deposited in a brown jug. Some years ago, during a momentary gust of passion, he emptied the contents of this precious utensil into the fire; and therefore, as far as he is concerned, authentic proofs of the modern Gretna marriages alone are preserved.

Mr. Pasley has had many opportunities of lamenting his rashness on this unfortunate occasion. It not unfrequently happens that the parties, whose attention at such a time is frequently distracted by other ideas, forget to carry away the testimonials of their hymeneal conjunction, or that they afterwards lose them. When the loss begins to be felt, they apply to him for his duplicate, and as he is much too wise a man to supply the wants of others without reaping some advantage to himself, the brown jug, while it was full, contained the means of a considerable revenue.

The deficiency in question can often be supplied  
however,

however, by his memory ; but he is sometimes strangely unwilling to exert it. Its powers in this respect are incredible ; for there is no event, however distant in time, or undistinguished by any peculiar circumstances, which he cannot recollect, when he has been assisted by a simple recital. He discovers, however, a laudable reluctance to shock belief, by confirming with his signature such extraordinary exploits of intellect. Yet even this may be overcome by money and brandy. The demand is high : as he may contend with justice that he ought to be paid more for carrying such matters in his head than for keeping them in a vessel made of earthenware.

The Gretna-green marriages are celebrated at a public-house situate on the right hand, at the entrance into the town, and probably about fifteen or twenty furlongs (three hundred yards) from the river Sark, which divides England from Scotland. The ceremony takes place in a bed-room, not on account of the want of a sitting-room, for there is an excellent one below ; but because part of the ceremony before alluded to, which is held to be absolutely necessary by Mr. Pasley, cannot be performed any where else. The parties, if they are able, leave the place as soon as it is completed, which is generally within twelve hours ; but, strange as it may appear, they sometimes actually want money for that purpose.

The inn, if inn it may be called, is kept by Willy Johnson and Peggy Morgan. They are man and wife,

wife, although, according to the Scotch custom, the latter retains her maiden name. It has pretty good accommodations, which are furnished at a reasonable price, and those who wish to see the extraordinary character faintly delineated in this narrative with their own eyes, should stop there, if travelling that way. It is his *house of call*, and he may therefore be easily supposed to spend in it the greater part of his time and money. Perhaps Mr. Brook has left the best example to be followed by a stranger who proposes to introduce himself, except that brandy must be substituted for the favourite liquor of Sir John Falstaff.\*

The rival priest does not live at Gretna, but at a place one or two miles beyond it. This circumstance is very favourable to Mr. Pasley, and is most advantageously used by so great a man. If a couple afraid of pursuit applies to him, he knows that his rival, with regard to them, is in a state of non-existence, and he makes his bargain with all the rigour of a monopolist! If the post-boys can be depended upon, he has generally little to fear; for strangers to the country, in so delicate a situation, would scarcely attempt to find out a person at such a distance. In addition to this, he is well aware that, on all occasions, he is assisted by the united efforts of fatigue and impatience, operating upon individuals who have travelled so far for such a purpose.

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\* Merry Wives of Windsor.

It has in general been Mr. Pasley's principle not to act until he is paid, well knowing that more is to be expected from hope than gratitude. In some instances he has unhappily been induced to depart from this rule; and has suffered, as might be expected, for his imprudence. He complains in a most pathetic manner of one person who offered a gold watch in pledge, which he refused to take, and who has not been induced by a sense of justice or of the honourable manner in which he was used to execute the promise, in consideration of which he was married; but, on the contrary, has treated the frequent applications Mr. Pasley's regard to himself and his family have induced him to make, either with rudeness or neglect.

But our high-priest, on the other hand, thinks it just to state, that he has not always experienced such baseness. One gentleman who arrived without money gave him a promissory note for twenty-five pounds, which was afterwards duly honoured. The circumstances of his case were rather extraordinary. The lady, who resided at York, wrote to her lover at the university, where he was then a student, to state that her father had determined to have her married to his rival at an early period which she mentioned. Although he travelled down on the wings of love, he reached the family mansion only at two o'clock in the morning of the appointed day. He, however, found means to make her acquainted with his arrival, and they were soon on the road to Gretna Green. The gallantry and honour of this enterprising

enterprising youth seem to have left on Mr. Pasley's mind an impression of regard scarcely natural to so rugged a composition.

It has been doubted whether this very accommodating priest joined the hands of Lord W. and Miss C. He asserts that he did, and that he received fifty pounds, which was a less sum than he would have demanded, had he been apprised of the rank and opulence of the parties.

The following are some circumstances of that memorable elopement.

They travelled from London to Gretna (three hundred and thirteen miles) in twenty-nine hours. A trusty foreign valet was commissioned to wait a few hours in London, and then follow the other attendants. A little beyond Bugden he was overtaken by one of Mr. C.'s servants; who, upon seeing him, conceived hopes of being able to come up with and detain the parties themselves. The Swiss suffered this man to proceed until he was about six miles from the inn, and then shot his horse under him, observing at the same time, "that he might take up his saddle and bridle, and then chuse which end of the stage he would walk to, in order to provide another gelding for the chace."

Lord W. passed Captain now General C. with whom he was acquainted, at the head of a party of soldiers, and requested him to embarrass, as much as possible, what he might suspect to be a pursuit. A post-chaise coming up, the Captain arranged his men into the form of a serpent, the folds extending  
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from one side of the road to the other, and ordered them to crawl slowly along. The chaise happened to convey Miss C.'s servant, who was thus detained some time from joining her mistress, by the military skill of his Lordship's friend.

Mr. Pasley once visited Bristol, to give evidence upon a trial, and on his return spent a week in London, where he had lodgings in Friday-street, Cheapside. His observations in the great city, though novel, do not seem to have been extensive. When asked by the compiler of this narrative what he thought most remarkable in the metropolis? he answered, "that there were no tomb-stones in the church-yards!"

The figure of Mr. Pasley is striking and respectable; on the other hand, his manners and conversation are such as might be supposed to belong to so great a lover of brandy!

He has been married fifty-five years, and has five sons and one daughter. It is a family seemingly formed for strength. He himself is six feet high, and uncommonly bony and athletic. He says that none of his children are inferior to him in height, and that his wife, who is some years older than himself, can even now walk four miles within the hour.

## JOEL BARLOW, A. M.

THE fate of countries, like that of individuals, is often whimsical. America, discovered by a Genoese mariner,\* who had not even the honour of conferring his name on it, received its present appellation from a Florentine merchant,† who had few or no pretensions on the score of original merit. England also, which in the time of Henry VII. refused to furnish Columbus with a trifling sum of money to enable him to proceed on a voyage, in the course of which he proposed the daring measure of sailing to the East Indies by a westerly course, derived the chief advantage from an adventure to which she did not contribute; while Spain, one of whose queens‡ pawned her very jewels on the occasion, has nearly depopulated the seat of her empire in the old world, without reaping any adequate advantage from her transmarine colonies in the new.

It has been a disputed question among philosophers, whether the discovery of the new continent may be considered as beneficial to mankind. On one side we behold thousands of the native Americans extirpated, and Africa plundered of her children on purpose to supply a hardier race, for the gratification of European rapacity in the West Indies; on the other, we contemplate millions of freemen in the

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\* Columbus.

† Vesputius Americus.

‡ Isabella.



*Mr. G. G. G.*



*Mr. G. G. G.*



United States, doubling their population at the end of every third lustre, and furnishing an asylum for the persecuted from every quarter of the globe. Although unhappily separated from us, we cannot forget our common origin, our common language, and the community of our laws and customs. We ought to rejoice in the increasing prosperity of the Americans, as it contributes essentially to our own; nor are they unworthy of our attachment. Commerce, under their auspices, spreads her sails to every quarter of the globe, while their rich harvests render the most distant nations tributary, and fill the ports of the Transatlantic frontiers with the manufactures of Europe, and the silks, the spices, and the perfumes of Asia. The fine arts constantly follow in the train of opulence; the natives already begin to wield the pencil and the graver with a masterly hand; the man of letters celebrates the achievements of his countrymen; future musicians will compose melodies sacred to patriotism and public virtue; and as the Romans formerly visited Greece with a view of imbibing a taste for the productions of its better days, so our posterity may seek the shores of America, on purpose to tread on classic ground. Even now she can boast of celebrated names; in arms of a Washington, in philosophy of a Franklin and a Rumford, in painting of a Copley, a Trumbull, a Steward, and especially of a West, who lately so worthily presided at the head of our own academy. It will be seen also, that in prose and poetry the subject of this memoir is entitled to rank high among the writers of the present day in England.

land. With his political opinions we have nothing to do ; they are adapted, no doubt, to the genius and the country in which they were produced, and to which they now seem to be solely dedicated.

Mr. Barlow was born in or about the year 1757, in the town of Reading, in the State of Connecticut, then a British province. His grandfather had emigrated from this country, and was among the first settlers of Fairfield in that colony. His father purchased a tract of new lands in Reading, on which he took up his residence, and which he cultivated himself. He reared a numerous progeny, and of these the subject of this memoir was the youngest.

It would seem that genius in America, in opposition to the descent of fiefs in England, is the birth-right of the latest born. Franklin was the youngest of twelve children ; Barlow of ten. He was a boy at school when his father died. The patrimonial estate was not very considerable ; and being divided equally among the offspring, according to the custom of that country, the portion to each was but small. Joel, therefore, as he grew up, found his inheritance little more than sufficient to finish his education.

His guardian had placed him at Dartmouth college, in New Hampshire, of which he was entered a student in the year 1774. But that institution, being then in its infancy, presented fewer advantages, in his opinion, than the college at New-Haven, in his native state. To this therefore he removed in the course of the same year ; and after a considerable interval, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1778.

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We know but little of the juvenile history or pursuits of Mr. Barlow ; nor can we suppose that they could be interesting to the English reader, were we able to detail them. We have been told indeed, and have reason to believe, that his taste and talents for the *belles lettres*, particularly for poetry, while an under graduate, were much noticed by his tutors. Some pieces, both in prose and verse, produced as college exercises, were published, and gained him considerable applause in that country, particularly a poem called, " The Prospect of Peace," printed before he left college ; and " An Elegy on Mr. Homer," \* which followed it at no great interval. But none of these, we believe, have reached this country, at least they have not come to our hands, and we can only speak of them from hearsay.

While Mr. Barlow was at college, the grand contest took place with England, which ended in the independence of America. With the guilt or merit of that measure, this age has but little to do ; for nearly all the advisers of the war, which at least ought to be deemed *impolitic*, if not manifestly unjust, are no more. Of the present statesmen, many are too young to have been then in parliament ; but it is not a little creditable to those who were, that they all entered their solemn protest against it. The maiden speech of the present premier, Mr. Pitt, had this for its topic ; the first effort of his eloquence

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\* Member of Congress from Connecticut, and First Judge of the Supreme Maritime Court of Appeals for the United States, within

within the walls of a British senate, was dedicated to liberty. Windham and Grenville, towards the latter end, came forward to oppose the suicidal conflict. Fox, from the very commencement, declared against hostilities, and, like Cassandra of old, prophesied of future evils in vain. Had we but retained possession of our colonies in the western hemisphere, in addition to our own force, we could now have wielded another continent against the new Alaric, and by the intervention of America, delayed, perhaps regulated, the fate of Europe.

While the British Senate, and even Britain herself, were divided into parties relative to this interesting question, the *native* Americans were nearly unanimous in their opposition. The antecedent dispute relative to the stamp act, in which they had eventually triumphed, taught them their own strength. They detested the suspicious doctrine of taxation without representation; they entered into non-importation agreements; they resisted the Boston port-bill; and finally, appealing to Heaven, they resorted to arms!

Such was the enthusiasm of the moment, that men of opulence enrolled themselves in the ranks, and boys deserted their schools on purpose to become soldiers.

Mr. Barlow, of a temper naturally warm and enthusiastic, now lamented that his youth prevented him from taking a leading and elevated station in defending the cause of his country's freedom, of which he was no moderate admirer. He more than  
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once, however, during the time of vacation from college, was accustomed to seize his musket and fly to the camp, where four of his brothers were in arms. He was present as a volunteer in a variety of skirmishes, and actually assisted at one of the severest conflicts that happened during the war. This led to the defeat of the American army and the retreat from York Island in the year 1776. But as usual the victor ultimately profited but little by the disaster, while the vanquished soon recruited their ranks, and opposed an unbroken front to the foe.

His love of letters, rather than any abatement of ardour in respect to the unfinished contest, induced young Barlow to return from each of these excursions to his studies at New Haven. When he obtained a degree in 1778, the state of his finances required as speedy a preparation as possible for some profession which could yield him a support; and he accordingly applied himself to the study of the law. But his zeal in this pursuit was not remarkable; partly from his earlier and more decided attachment to the muses who never *go to law*; and partly from the still dubious and very interesting state of the military contest, during which his country was bleeding at every pore.

After one winter spent in the company of Coke and Blackstone, a vacancy happened to occur in the chaplaincy of a brigade in the Massachusetts line of the army; and although Mr. Barlow was not of that province, yet his reputation for letters and morals rendered him an eligible candidate, so that

he was immediately invited to take upon him this office.

Among the presbyterians of New England, who commenced their priesthood in lay-ordination, and who do not even now believe that a man by undertaking this function renders himself for ever incapable of exercising any other, it is not uncommon to see young men preaching the Gospel for a temporary support, while they are preparing themselves for what they call a more permanent and profitable profession. Accordingly Mr. Barlow not only accepted this station, but was very glad to obtain it; as he calculated that, while it afforded him an honourable maintenance, it would give him some leisure for his other studies; if not for law, at least for literature, which with him was a favourite pursuit, although he saw but little prospect of being able to indulge his inclination so far as to make it a business for life. We believe he continued with the army, exercising the duties of his new appointment, until the close of the war in 1783. During this period he formed an extensive acquaintance among the chiefs of his nation, both civil and military: at the same time that he planned and nearly accomplished a poetical work, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak more at large. Some part of his leisure moments, during his clerical career, were doubtless devoted to the more interesting objects of forming a matrimonial connection. It was in 1781 that he married an amiable and well-educated woman, who is still his wife. She was daughter of Mr. Baldwin, of New Haven,

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and sister of the present senator of that name in Congress.

When the independence of America was acknowledged, and the British troops withdrawn, soldiers and generals alike retired to their farms; and he who but lately commanded a battalion was not unfrequently seen holding a plough. Every one had either a new profession to seek, or an old one to resume; and multitudes of armed men, who had fought the battles and achieved the freedom of their country, withdrew with but a very inadequate compensation, and almost without a murmur.

Mr. Barlow, like many others, found his private fortune not in the least increased by the public service; and he at length deemed it necessary to resume his preparations for the profession of the law. For this purpose he removed to Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, where he established himself, as he then supposed, for the remainder of his life. As some temporary aid, however, was still necessary for subsistence, until the fees of an untried profession should begin to flow in, he purchased half the stock in trade of a printer and bookseller, with whom he entered into partnership, and aided in carrying on that complicated business, one part of which consisted in editing a newspaper. This connection continued but two years, for in 1785 the subject of this memoir was called to the bar, and began the practice of the law with uncommon reputation and success.

The business of a lawyer in that country unites  
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the duties both of the advocate and solicitor, and Mr. Barlow now made a rapid progress towards fortune, having the double advantage of an extensive previous acquaintance throughout the country, and a considerable stock of general science and literature.

In the year 1787 he published his "Vision of Columbus," a poem, in nine books. This work, besides adding greatly to his reputation in America, rendered him somewhat known in Europe. It was reprinted and published a few months afterwards, in London, by Dilly and Stockdale.

But the following year opened a new scene before him, which induced him to give up his brilliant prospects at Hartford, and to suspend the practice of law which he has never since resumed.

The Ohio Company, composed of a number of reputable men, with most of whom he had been acquainted while in the army, purchased from the Congress a tract of country lying on the river of that name, consisting of about three or four millions of acres. Their project was to sell a part of these lands to foreigners, and to settle themselves on the remainder.

This company named Mr. Barlow their agent to transact their business in Europe. He accordingly repaired to England for this purpose in the year 1788, and soon after crossed over into France, where he disposed of some of the lands, and sent over a few settlers. But, luckily for the general enterprize, its success did not depend in any great degree on the European part of the operation. A few New  
England

England adventurers repaired thither with their usual habits of industry and perseverance; and the settlement, which did not commence until 1788 on the territories of the Ohio Company—of which Mr. Barlow was one of the first projectors, and still remains, as we believe, a considerable proprietor—has now, after the lapse of a few years, acquired the rank and dignity of an independent body, consisting of seventy thousand inhabitants, and was lately received into the federal union of the American empire,\* making the seventeenth state.

Notwithstanding the great and certain pecuniary advantages which Mr. Barlow might have derived from returning to his fellow labourers, and profiting by the prosperity of their then growing colony in America, when his agency had ceased in Europe, other events, and those of far greater interest in the view of general philanthropy, now assailed his imagination, and induced him to prolong his residence in this quarter of the world. Instead, therefore, of settling with his old friends on the borders of the Ohio, he remained with his new ones on the banks of the Seine and of the Thames. He, as well as many other ardent admirers of liberty, thought he saw, in the opening of the French revolution, the germe of higher wisdom in political science, and the dawn of greater happiness in the social state of man, than Europe had ever before beheld. His heart, as well as his curiosity, was interested in the event, and

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\* It is called the state of Ohio.

he panted to behold the miracles which were to spring out of a well-regulated freedom.

He, however, returned to this country from France in 1791, with the intention, as he has often mentioned to the writer of this article, of never visiting the old continent again. His design was to stay in England a year or two, and then return to America. Near the close of that year and in the beginning of 1792 appeared three of his works: "Advice to the Privileged Orders," "The Conspiracy of Kings," and "A Letter to the National Convention of France." It does not appear that he contemplated any other publication here, as it was his settled design to recross the Atlantic in the spring of 1793. His great literary project, after his return to America, was to write the History of the United States, and we still hope that he has not laid aside that idea. It is a work wanting to our literature, and that country has probably not yet produced a writer more able to perform it than the one to whom we thus pointedly allude.

His intentions were, however, frustrated by a singular incident. Towards the end of 1792 the Constitutional Society in London, of which he was a member, voted an address to the National Convention of France, and nominated Mr. Barlow and another person to go over and present it. As the relations of peace, which still existed and were kept up between the two countries, had not then been disturbed, these two gentlemen undertook the task, doubtless without foreseeing the consequences that resulted from that measure.

measure. It soon after became the subject of legal inquiry, and is said to have given birth to the state trials which took place in the year 1794.

It cannot be doubted that more importance was annexed to this mission by his Majesty's ministers than it merited. However this may be, such was the critical state of affairs at this crisis, and so warm the resentment engendered against Mr. Barlow, that he thought it inexpedient for him to return at that time to this country. But he had originally departed with the design of being absent only during the space of three weeks. He had accordingly left his wife in London, and all his private concerns were in such a state of confusion as seemed to require his return here before he should leave Europe. France had not yet become the theatre of those crimes which have since tended greatly to render not only the perpetrators, but all those who had taken an active part in the revolution, odious. His acquaintances chiefly consisted of Gregoire, Condorcet, and other distinguished persons of the Gironde party, who have preserved their characters, although not many of them were able to preserve their lives during the tremendous times which ensued.

Being unable to return immediately to England, he sent for Mrs. Barlow, who joined him in France. In the mean time, he accompanied some of the deputies who were sent from the Convention on a mission to Savoy, a country, the inhabitants of which appeared eager to throw off the yoke of Victor Amadæus, King of Sardinia; a monarch become

old and infirm, and governed indeed by priests and mistresses. From Chamberry, the capital, then in possession of the French, Mr. Barlow addressed "A Letter to the People of Piedmont, on the Advantages of the Revolution, and the Necessity of adopting its Principles in Italy." It was dated December 22, 1792. This was published both in French and Italian; and a translation from the former language appeared in England without either the knowledge or consent of the author, in 1795. It was also propagated in the public papers here, when Savoy was annexed to France by the name of the department of Mont Blanc, that he was elected a representative to the National Convention from that department.

This, however, proved to be a mistake. Mr. Barlow never sat in any French legislative assembly; neither did he ever recognize or accept, by any public act, the honour that the Convention had done him in decreeing him the title of French Citizen: an honour which they conferred at the same time on Washington, Hamilton, Sir James Mackintosh, and several of our own countrymen.

The American States had never yet been at peace with Algiers and the other piratical powers of Barbary. Several attempts had been made through the agents of other nations residing there, and two special missions had been sent from America, for this purpose, but all without success. In 1795 the president Washington addressed a letter to Mr. Barlow, then in Paris, containing instructions for him to repair to Barbary, and form treaties with all the powers

on that coast ; and at the same time to redeem his fellow-citizens who were there detained in slavery, to the amount of more than an hundred, being the remnant of the crews of many ships which had fallen into the hands of those barbarians. He set off immediately on this business, travelled through Spain, and proceeded first to Algiers. The particulars of this undertaking have not been as yet published, but the writer of the present article has been informed that the greatest difficulties Mr. Barlow had to encounter arose from the ministers of European nations who were at peace with the Dey ; and from none more than from his good friends the French, who by this time had begun to hate Mr. Washington, and who, in common with other powers at peace in the Mediterranean, were jealous of a new rival in the commerce of those seas ; especially a rival of such rapid and gigantic growth as the American republic, the commerce of which was stretching its wings to the remotest shores of the habitable world.

Mr. Barlow, however, performed this grateful service for his country ; negotiated treaties of peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli ; redeemed and sent home the prisoners from all those places ; and returned once more to Paris in 1797. Here he seems to have led rather an inactive life for the last seven years, which we presume has been partly owing to the extreme disappointment and mortification that such an ardent friend to liberty must have felt in witnessing the constant decline and final overthrow of all the great principles of public happiness on  
which

which the revolution was professedly undertaken, and seemed for a while to be conducted !

The public has seen nothing from his pen during this interval, except one pamphlet, entitled " Letters to his Fellow-Citizens," written on a particular occasion, in which it seems his political principles had experienced the animadversion of Mr. Adams, the late president of his country. These letters were republished in London by Ridgeway ; they are written in his usual style of energy and perspicuity. The subjects therein treated, especially in the second letter, are interesting not only to the Americans, to whom they are addressed, but to every statesman and politician of whatever country. The discussions they will there find on *the Civilization of States*, *Public Maritime Law*, and the *Means of avoiding Wars*, if not luminous in themselves, are calculated to lead to such reflections in others as may possibly strike out some new lights on several matters that certainly are not yet well understood.

Mr. Barlow appears to have acquired and at present to enjoy a competent fortune. Some years past he purchased considerable landed property in France; and has lived since in his own house in Paris;\* a habitation which is said to have been too sumptuous for a philosopher or a poet. But he has now sold all his real estates in that country, and sent his moveables to America, whither he himself also repaired in the spring of 1805.

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\* Formerly the hotel of the Count Clermont de Tonnere.

On his way thither, though not the nearest way, he came over again to England with his wife, principally for the benefit of her health, as he thought he could obtain better medical advice here than elsewhere. Her malady occupied a great portion of his attention, and she was not without reason dear to him ; for perhaps no example is anywhere to be met, of a greater degree of harmony and conjugal felicity than he has enjoyed with that amiable woman from the first moment of their marriage.

We shall close our sketch of Mr. Barlow by giving some account of a work on which will principally depend his poetical fame. It is "The Columbiad," a poem in ten books, which is probably destined to become the epic song of his native country. It is still in manuscript ; but as it is prepared for the press, the author of this memoir has obtained liberty to make some extracts.

This is grounded on his first great poem, "The Vision of Columbus." All that he considered worth retaining in the former, amounting to more than one-half, is incorporated with the present ; so that he intends the old one shall disappear from the list of his works.

The subject is vast, and to his countrymen it must be highly interesting ; being in every sense of the word, as he terms it in the preface, a "patriotic poem." But to keep up the dignity of the subject, and carry the action principally to North America, which he became under the necessity of doing, was

to lay the scene in the countries which Columbus had never seen, and to celebrate the actions of men and of nations which to him were *future*. The subject therefore, splendid as it was, would not easily bend to an epic form; the author therefore was still obliged on this as on a former occasion, to represent *in vision* the greater part of the action of his poem: this however does not diminish its interest.

The following is the outline or general argument of the work, so far as a hasty perusal will enable us to describe it.

COLUMBUS, the discoverer of America, after being recalled from his government in the new world, treated with indignity, and despoiled of all his honours and emoluments, is represented in a dungeon in the city of Valladolid, the seat of the Spanish government at that period. He makes a pathetic monologue on his hopeless situation. HESPER, who is represented as the guardian genius of the western continent, appears to the hero in prison; and announces his object, which was to sooth and elevate his desponding spirit, by anticipating the great events that were to flow from his illustrious deeds; the new nations that were preparing to spring to life, and the happy lands they were destined to occupy in the hemisphere which he had brought to light. Leaving the prison together, they ascend the mount of vision, which is reared in mid-sky, over the western coast of Spain. Here they are seated; and the continent of America draws majestically  
into

into view, and is described by its most prominent parts, such as mountains, bays, rivers, &c. This is the subject of the first book.

The second and third books are principally occupied with the ancient natives of America; and the afflicting view of the Spanish devastations in Mexico and Peru. This part of the poem is enlivened by some sublime descriptions of inanimate nature, and likewise by the interesting episode of Manco Capac and his wife Oella, founders of the whole empire of Peru. There is much of the true heroic action in this portion of the work, which occupies the whole of the third book.

The fourth turns the vision back to the old continent, and gives us the state of Europe at that time, depicted from its most striking features. The religious persecutions, and especially the fiend Inquisition, are depicted with a daring pencil. The victory of the English marine over the armada of Philip; the spirit of liberty and peculiar energy of the British nation, rearing a race of men fit to colonize the northern continent of America; are then noticed. The fleet of settlers steering over the Atlantic, under the guidance of Sir Walter Raleigh; the exultation of Columbus at the sight; the high-souled free-born spirit that is to animate those colonies, in contrast with all others (as explained by Hesper); and the salutatory speech of the river-god Potowmack, as they enter the Chessapeak, predicting the greatness of their empire, and offering his banks for its capital; are pencilled in the style that  
the

the occasion demands, and close the book in a tone that leaves the reader's mind in a state of exhilaration, mingled, however, with an ardent anxiety to know the future destinies of so great an enterprize.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh books, confine the vision principally to North America; and from the middle of the fifth to the end of the seventh, they are occupied with the war that secured its independence. As that celebrated conflict is represented to the hero in vision, it seems like one continued and varied action. This animated part of the poem is for the most part entirely new; the author having borrowed from his old work but little of the military splendour with which he has adorned it.

It will be remarked, that modern arms and modern modes of warfare, whether by sea or land, have never before employed the epic muse. The author has ventured some pertinent observations on this circumstance, and the reader must wait the publication of the poem to be able to determine how far this attempt, equally audacious and original, has been crowned with success. The limits proper to be prescribed to the present article, will by no means allow of our analysing this part of the work, so as to convey a proper idea of its merits. We are struck with astonishment at the long and well-supported description of the naval battle, and especially at the awful and sublime images which arise from the blowing up of two ships of the line, at the close of that combat, so new in the regions of poetry, though not unexampled in real action. The tragical death of a young lady,  
who

who had been betrothed to a British officer, is also wrought up with great pathos and management, with a view of variegating the disastrous conflict of Saratoga.

But there is one trial of strength in this adventurous author, at which the critic will be held in doubt, and perhaps rather inclined to censure, until he shall have read and considered the passage. We venture to predict, that the soundest principles of taste will then induce him to join with us in applauding it. Washington, recrossing the Delaware to attack the British van, while struggling at the head of his little army, with ice and storm, and the gloom of eve, is accosted by the river-god, who rears his awful form, and forbids him to proceed, alleging the holy truce of night, and the inevitable death that awaits his disobedience to the warning voice of so great a demon. The intrepid General disregards his threats, and pushes on with additional vigour for his object.

The god, more enraged, tries the force of all his storms, and lays bare his rocks and shoals to found the frail barks; but in vain. He then applies to his ancient foe, the God of Frost, to come to his aid. The hoary fiend grants his request, and appearing in all his terrors, turns the whole flood to crystal, and infixes every barge of the rebel host among the clefts of ice. In this plight, Hesper, the guardian genius, comes to their assistance; and the battle between him and the fiend Frost being soon decided in favour of the former, the flotilla is set free from the ice. The  
army

army gains the shore, where they encounter their prey; and the enterprise is thus crowned with victory. It is difficult to foresee how a fiction so bold as this could succeed in the grave scenery of modern heroic song; and yet we think upon the whole it is ably managed.

The last book of this poetic war, like the last active campaign in the real one, closes with the capture of Cornwallis and his army. The siege of York, which precedes and brings on this final victory of the American arms, is heightened in its interest with a great variety of incidents, some animated and some sublime descriptions.

The eighth book opens with a hymn to peace. The author makes use of this interval of tranquillity, after the bustle of war, to offer some of the most wholesome, and we think well-timed, advice to his countrymen, on the means of preserving the liberty they have acquired. Among other things, to put a stop to that baneful calamity the *slavery of the Africans*. We cannot forbear to present our readers with this passage entire, in the express words of the original; it being a subject by itself, it is more easily detached, and rendered intelligible without much explanation.

It may be necessary to premise, however, that while Hesper is the guardian of America, his elder brother, Atlas, is the guardian of Africa. The author, in a note to the first book, has given us their fabulous history; and states that they were the sons of Uranus and the Earth; that Atlas, from being king of Mauritania,

ritania, became a mountain fixed in that country to support the heavens; which Hesper, a youth, frequented to study astronomy, until at length he became a beautiful planet, and was placed in the western heaven, by the name of the evening star. We thus see that the employment given them by the author is analogous to their mythological characters. In this address to his countrymen, which takes up near half of the eighth book, after a considerable strain of panegyric on the great actions they had achieved, the poet thus proceeds:

“ My friends, I love your fame! I joy to raise  
 The high-toned anthem of my country’s praise;  
 To sing her vict’ries, virtues, wisdom, weal,  
 Boast with loud voice the patriot pride I feel;  
 Warm, wild, I sing; and, to her failings blind,  
 Mislead myself, perhaps mislead mankind.  
 Land that I love! is this the whole we owe?  
 Thy pride to pamper, thy fair face to show?  
 Dwells there no blemish where such glories shine?  
 And lurks no spot in that bright sun of thine?  
 Hark! a dread voice, with heaven-astounding strain,  
 Swells like a thousand thunders o’er the main,  
 Rolls and reverberates around thy hills,  
 And HESPER’s heart with pangs paternal fills.  
 Thou hear’st him not; ’tis Atlas, thron’d sublime,  
 Great brother-guardian of a neighbouring clime;  
 High o’er his coast he rears his frowning form,  
 O’erlooks and calms his sky-bornæ fields of storm,  
 Flings off the clouds that round his shoulders hung,  
 And breaks from clogs of ice his trembling tongue;  
 While far through space with rage and grief he glares,  
 Heaves his hoar head, and shakes the heaven he bears.

“ Son of my sire! ah latest, loveliest birth,  
 That sprang from his fair spouse, prolific Earth;

Bright

Bright Hesper, say what sordid, ceaseless hate,  
 Impels thee thus to mar my elder state ?  
 Our sire assign'd thee thy more glorious reign,  
 Secur'd and bounded by our lab'ring main.  
 That main (though still my birth-right name it bear)  
 Thy sails o'ershadow, thy brave children share ;  
 I grant it thus ; while air surrounds the ball,  
 Let breezes blow, let oceans roll for all.  
 But thy proud sons, a strange ungenerous race,  
 Enslave my tribes, and each fair world disgrace,  
 Provide wide vengeance on their lawless land,  
 The bolt ill-placed in thy forbearing hand.

“ Enslave my tribes ! then boast their cantons free ;  
 Preach faith and justice, bow the sainted knee !  
 Invite all men their liberty to share !  
 Seek public peace, defy th' assaults of war !  
 Enrich all nations with their nurturing store,  
 And rake with venturous prow each wondering shore !

“ Enslave my tribes ! what ! half mankind emban !  
 Then read, expound, enforce, the rights of man !  
 Prove plain and clear how nature's hand of old  
 Cast all men equal in her human mould !  
 Their fibres, feelings, reasoning powers the same ;  
 Like wants await them, like desires inflame.  
 Through former times with learned book they tread,  
 Revise past ages, and rejudge the dead ;  
 Write, speak, avenge, for ancient suff'ring feel,  
 Impale each tyrant on their pens of steel,  
 Declare how freemen can a world create,  
 And slaves and masters ruin every state.

“ Enslave my tribes ! and think, with dumb disdain,  
 To 'scape this arm, and prove my vengeance vain !  
 But look ! methinks beneath my foot I ken  
 A few chain'd things that seem no longer men ;  
 Thy sons perchance ! whom Barbary's coast can tell  
 The sweets of that lov'd scourge they wield so well.  
 Link'd in a line beneath the driver's goad,  
 See how they stagger with their lifted load :

The shoulder'd rock, just wrench'd from off my hill,  
 And wet with drops their straining orbs distil ;  
 Galls, grinds them sore, along the ramparts led,  
 And the chain clanking counts the steps they tread.  
 By night, close bolted in the bagnio's gloom,  
 Think how they ponder on their hopeless doom,  
 Recall the tender sire, the weeping bride,  
 The home, far sunder'd by a waste of tide,  
 Brood o'er the ties that once endear'd them there ;  
 But now, strung stronger, edge their keen despair.

“ Till here a fouler fiend arrests their pace ;  
 PLAGUE, with his burning breath, and bloated face,  
 With saffron eyes that through the dungeon shine,  
 And the black tumours bursting from the groin,  
 Stalks o'er the slave ; who, cowering on the sod,  
 Shrinks from the dæmon, and invokes his God,  
 Sucks hot contagion with his quivering breath,  
 And, rack'd with rending torture, sinks in death.

“ Nor shall these pangs atone the nation's crime ;  
 Far heavier vengeance in the march of time,  
 Attends them still, if still they dare debase,  
 And hold in thrall'd the millions of my race ;  
 A vengeance that shall shake the world's deep frame,  
 That heaven abhors, and even I shrink to name :—  
 Nature, long outrag'd, delves their crusted sphere,  
 And moulds the mining mischief dark and drear ;  
 Europa too the penal shock shall find,  
 The rude soul-selling monsters of mankind.  
 Where Alps and Andes at their basis meet,  
 In earth's mid caves to lock their granite feet,  
 Heave their broad spines, expand each breathing lobe,  
 And with her massy members rib the globe,  
 Her cauldron'd floods of fire their blasts prepare,  
 Her wallowing womb of subterranean war  
 Waits but the fissure that my wave shall find,  
 To force the foldings of the rocky rind,  
 Crash your curst continent, and whirl on high  
 The vast avulsion vaulting through the sky ;

Fling far the bursting fragments, scattering wide  
 Rocks, mountains, nations, o'er the swallowing tide ;  
 Plunging and surging with alternate sweep,  
 They storm the day-vault, and lay bare the deep ;  
 Toss, tumble, plough their place ; then slow subside,  
 And swell each ocean, as their bulk they hide :  
 Two oceans dash'd in one ! that climbs and roars,  
 And seeks in vain th' exterminated shores,  
 The deep-drench'd hemisphere ;—far sunk from day,  
 It crumbles, rolls, and churns the settling sea,  
 Turns up each prominence, heaves every side,  
 To pierce once more the landless length of tide :  
 Till some pois'd Pambamarca looms at last  
 A dim lone island in the watery waste,  
 Mourns all his minor brethren wreck'd and hurl'd,  
 Stands the sad relic of a ruin'd world,  
 Attests the wrath our mother kept in store,  
 And rues her judgments on the race she bore.  
 No saving ark around him rides the main,  
 Nor dove weak-wing'd her footing finds again ;  
 His own bald eagle skims alone the sky,  
 Darts from all points of heav'n her searching eye,  
 Kears through the gloom her ancient rock of rest,  
 And finds her cavern'd crag, her solitary nest.

“ Thus ton'd the Titan his tremendous knell,  
 And lash'd his ocean to a loftier swell ;  
 Earth groans responsive ; and, with labouring woes,  
 Leans o'er the surge, and stills the storm he throws.

“ Fathers and friends ! I know the boding fears  
 Of angry genii and of rending spheres  
 Assail not souls like yours ; whom science bright  
 Through shadowy nature leads with surer light.  
 You scorn the Titan's threat ; nor shall I strain  
 The powers of pathos in a task so vain  
 As Afric's wrongs to sing ; for what avails  
 To harp for you these known familiar tales ?  
 To tongue mute mis'ry, and re-rack the soul  
 With crimes oft copied from that bloody scroll

Where

Where slavery pens her woes ? tho' 'tis but there  
 We learn the weight that mortal life can bear.  
 The tale might startle still the accustom'd ear,  
 Still shake the nerve that pumps the pearly tear,  
 Melt every heart, and thro' the nation gain  
 Full many a voice to break the barbarous chain.  
 But why to sympathy for guidance fly ?  
 (Her aid's uncertain, and of scant supply)  
 While your own self-excited sense affords  
 A guide more sure, and every sense accords :  
 Where strong self-interest, join'd with duty, lies,  
 Where doing right demands no sacrifice,  
 Where profit, pleasure, life-expanding fame  
 League their allurements to support the claim,  
 'Tis safest there th' impleaded cause to trust ;  
 Men well instructed will be always just.

“ From slavery then your rising realms to save,  
 Regard the master, notice not the slave ;  
 Consult alone for freemen, and bestow  
 Your best, your only cares, to keep them so.  
 Tyrants are never free : and, small and great,  
 All masters must be tyrants soon or late ;  
 So nature works ; and oft the lordling knave  
 Turns out at once a tyrant and a slave,  
 Struts, cringes, bullies, begs, as courtiers must,  
 Makes one a god, another treads in dust,  
 Fears all alike, and filches whom he can,  
 But knows no equal, finds no friend in man.

“ Ah ! would you not be slaves, with lords and kings  
 Then be not masters, there the danger springs.  
 The whole crude system that torments this earth,  
 Of rank, privation, privilege of birth,  
 False honour, fraud, corruption, civil jars,  
 The rage of conquest and the curse of wars,  
 Pandora's total shower, all ills combin'd,  
 That erst o'erwhelm'd, and still distress mankind,  
 Box'd up secure in your deliberate hand,  
 Wait your behest, to fix or fly this land.

“ Equality of rights is nature’s plan,  
 And following nature is the march of man.  
 Whene’er he deviates in the least degree,  
 When, free himself, he would be more than free,  
 The baseless column, rear’d to bear his bust,  
 Falls as he mounts, and whelms him in the dust.

“ See Rome’s rude sires, with autocratic gait,  
 Tread down their tyrant and erect their state ;  
 Their state secur’d, they deem it wise and brave  
 That every freeman should command a slave ;  
 And, flush’d with franchise of his camp and town,  
 Rove thro’ the world and hunt the nations down  
 Master and man the same vile spirit gains,  
 Rome chains the world, and wears herself the chains.

“ Mark modern Europe, with her feudal codes,  
 Serfs, villains, vassals, nobles, kings, and gods,  
 All slaves of different grades, corrupt and curst  
 With high and low, for senseless rank athirst,  
 Wage endless wars ; not fighting to be free,  
 But *cujum pecus* ? whose base herd they’ll be.

“ Too much of Europe, here transplanted o’er,  
 Nurs’d feudal feelings on your tented shore,  
 Brought sable serfs from Afric, call’d it gain,  
 And urg’d your sires to forge the tempting chain.  
 But now, the tents o’erturn’d, the war-dogs fled,  
 Now fearless Freedom rears at last her head.  
 Match’d with celestial Peace :—my friends, beware  
 To shade the splendours of so bright a pair ;  
 Complete their triumph, fix their firm abode,  
 Purge all privations from your lib’ral code,  
 Restore their souls to men, give earth repose,  
 And save your sons from slavery, wars, and woes.

“ Bas’d on its rock of right your empire lies,  
 On walls of wisdom let the fabric rise ;  
 Preserve your principles, their force unfold,  
 Let nations prove them, and let kings behold.  
 EQUALITY, your first and fairest prize ;  
 THEN FREE ELECTIONS ; then your FEDERAL TIES ;

This holy trinity should ever shine  
 The great compendium of all rights divine,  
 Creed of all schools, whence youths by millions draw  
 Their themes of right, their decalogues of law ;  
 Till men shall wonder (in these codes inur'd)  
 How wars were made, how tyrants were endur'd.

“ Then shall your works of art superior rise,  
 Your fruits perfume a larger length of skies,  
 Canals careering climb your sun-bright hills,  
 Vein the green slopes, and strew their nurturing rills,  
 Thro' tunnell'd heights and sundering ridges glide,  
 Rob the rich west of half Ohio's tide,  
 Mix your wide climates, all their stores confound,  
 And plant new ports in every midland mound.

“ Your lawless Mississippi, now who slimes,  
 And floods, and desolates his waste of climes,  
 Ribb'd with your dykes, his torrent shall restrain,  
 And ask your leave to travel to the main ;  
 Won from his wave while rising cantons smile,  
 Rear their glad nations, and reward their toil.

“ — Thus Nile's proud flood to human hands of yore  
 Rais'd and resign'd his tide-created shore,  
 Call'd from his Ethiop hills their hardy swains,  
 And wav'd their harvests o'er his new-born plains ;—  
 Earth's richest realm from his tam'd current sprung ;  
 There nascent Science ton'd her infant tongue,  
 Taught the young arts their tender force to try,  
 To state the seasons and unfold the sky ;  
 Till o'er the world, extended and rein'd,  
 They rule the destinies of human kind.”

The ninth and tenth books embrace a larger scope than any of the preceding ; and they are almost entirely new. The object of *Hesper* is to expand the mind of Columbus over all the interests of the human race, and gratify his view with scenes of future civilization and improvement ; till the political har-

mony and felicity of all nations shall be established. With this view he expatiates free over all the moral and material universe, from the birth of nature to the present time ; and from the present time through a train of fanciful events, which most readers will rather wish than expect to be realized in favour of his fellow-men. A train of grander ideas, or more philanthropic sentiments, has perhaps seldom appeared in verse ; and they close the poem by leaving the mind of the reader, as Hesper is supposed to leave that of the hero, impressed with a mixture of expansion and soothing sensations, which, if we suppose them to have been enjoyed by the unfortunate Columbus, must have rewarded him for all his sufferings.

This work, we understand, is to be published in the first style of elegance, and ornamented with twelve engravings by the best artists in this kingdom ; among which will be the author's portrait by Sharpe, from an excellent likeness by an American painter.

We shall conclude this article by observing, that after beholding, and even participating in the great scenes which have lately astonished mankind, Mr. Barlow has returned to his native country, deeply impressed with the idea that England is the only free country in Europe.

## MR. HENRY GREATHEAD,

THE INVENTOR OF THE LIFE-BOAT.

*Illi robur et æs triplex**Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci**Commisit pelago ratem.                   HOR.*

AMIDST the pressure of our taxes, and the multiplicity of our wars, the occasional rigour of our season, and the enhanced price of all the necessaries of life, there are many things that still reconcile and endear our country to us. In no other portion of Europe are the rights of individuals so well secured, or private property deemed so sacred. Genius here expands the soul, without fear of being controlled, and afterwards reaps the just reward of its exertions, in peace and security. But this is not all; for its efforts, when directed towards proper pursuits, are not unfrequently aided by the hand of beneficence, while they are always sure of receiving that enlivening portion of praise so justly dear to those who deserve it.

Notwithstanding the alarming inroads of dissipation, and the increasing prevalence of a selfish luxury, the public is still eager to hail the dawn of talents, and to challenge useful excellence whenever it is to be found. Many of our public institutions too, are expressly dedicated to this purpose, and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures, has been always ready to patronize  
works

works of national utility, while the House of Commons, more especially of late years, has remunerated the exertions of meritorious individuals out of the public purse.

In the arts connected with the preservation of human life, we have ever been acknowledged to be pre-eminent. The Humane Society, the model of which we believe was borrowed from one of our neighbours,\* has already rescued thousands from death. The rancour of an infectious and alarming disease† has been of late abated by means of a new process, which bids fair to ensure the preservation of nations. Our prisons, the unhappy abodes of crime, misery, and despair, have been rendered less unhealthy, in consequence of the active beneficence of an individual who fell a martyr to his exertions in the cause of mankind; while the decorum of private life, if not the practical morality of society, has been manifestly improved by the labours of our didactic writers.

But something still remained to be achieved. In respect to that element which constitutes at once the source of the wealth and the security of our “sea-girt isle,” we had hitherto excelled other countries by means of our superior skill and our superior intrepidity alone. The unrelenting ocean became annually the grave of a multitude of its votaries; and although an Englishman rode fearlessly on its surface, yet when precipitated into the abyss, being

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\* The Dutch.

† The small-pox.

unable to boast of any peculiar mode of escape, he experienced the common fate attendant on the individuals of other nations. At length, however, a man arose, who taught us how to buffet the storm, contend victoriously with the waves, protract the period of human existence, and rescue the industrious mariner from the watery grave.

In the course of this publication, not content with recapitulating the brilliant exploits of heroes who have fought the battles of their country, we have been always eager to rescue humble worth from obscurity, conscious of the justice of the poet's remark:

Full many a gem of purest ray serene  
The dark unfathom'd caves of Ocean bear ;  
Full many a flower is born to blow unseen,  
And waste its sweetness in the desert air."

We consider ourselves particularly fortunate upon the present occasion, having been furnished with abundance of original materials; and while it is our present task to narrate the particulars of a life which has been the source of such advantages to the community, it is at the same time our desire to see the subject of this memoir ranked among the benefactors of his native land, and behold the name of a Greathead coupled with those of a Jenner and a Howard.

The subject of this memoir is a native of Richmond, in Yorkshire, where he was born on the 27th of January 1757. His mother\* had two children at a birth,

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\* Her maiden name was Rainsden, being the daughter of Mr. Henry Rainsden, of York-Buildings, London. She was married

a birth, and he happened to be the younger of the twins. His father, Mr. John Greathead, nearly about the same period was appointed an officer of the salt duties ; and as he conducted himself with great propriety, he was raised from being a supernumerary, and placed on the establishment ; in consequence of which occurrence he removed to South Shields, in the county palatine of Durham, in the year 1763. While there he obtained another step in his official career, having been appointed supervisor and comptroller of the district ; a situation which he appears to have filled with equal honour to himself and credit to his employers, until a great and sudden change took place in that department. It being deemed highly beneficial to blend the duties levied upon salt with those arising out of the other branches of the excise, so as to simplify the receipts, and produce a considerable saving in the collection, a number of officers of course received their dismissal, but their salaries were continued notwithstanding their personal attendance was no longer required. Mr. Greathead accordingly enjoyed his former income until the period of his death, which occurred on the 15th of December 1802, when upwards of eighty years of age, forty-six of which had been spent in a public employment.

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to Mr. Greathead on the 18th of May 1744, lives at present with her son Henry, at South Shields ; and although upwards of eighty-one years of age, in addition to good health, still enjoys the full exercise of her faculties,

The son, of whom we are now to give an account, was baptised Henry, after his maternal grandfather, a merchant in London; and being one of thirteen children, it is not to be supposed that he was destined to be brought up in that state of luxurious indolence which is too often the unhappy lot of those destined to enjoy a patrimonial fortune. It was on the contrary resolved, that at an early period of life he should be enabled to provide for himself and serve the community at the same time.

Notwithstanding the burden of such a large family, and the scanty means of supporting them, we are assured from undoubted authority that the father did them ample justice. The best education that could be obtained in the place of his residence, was bestowed on Henry; as soon as this was achieved, a permanent provision, as has been already hinted, was naturally looked forward to, and was most likely to be obtained, through the medium of a trade. Men, like the chameleon, generally borrow the hue they are fated to assume in life from the objects immediately around them. The busy and bustling port of Shields presented vessels of every size and description, from the humble coble to the three-masted collier, and they were to be seen here in all their various stages of perfection, from the moment that the keel was placed on the slip until the epoch when the labours of the artist were completed, and the ingenious fabric of oak, iron, and canvass, launched into the ocean. It was a familiarity with these scenes while a school-boy, that undoubtedly induced young  
Greathead

Greathead to apply the faculties of his mind and body to attain practical knowledge in the science of constructing vessels.

"I went from inclination," says he, in a manuscript account of his life entrusted to, and now before the writer of this article, "rather early to business, from which cause I preferred that of a boat-builder to a ship-builder merely from the lightness of the work after the expiration of my apprenticeship, in the course of which I had been made foreman."

His indentures having been then delivered up and cancelled, and a laborious and faithful servitude concluded, it remained only, it may be supposed, to place him in a situation to earn bread for himself, and, should he be disposed to marry, afford a sufficiency for the maintenance of a wife and children.

But insurmountable barriers appear to have intervened. In the first place, his family had no interest in the *shipping trade*; and without patronage of this kind, industry and talents would have proved alike ineffectual. In the second, perhaps the narrowness of his finances might have prevented the advance of a sufficient capital to trade on speculation, in opposition to what is termed *bespoke work*. And in the third, that ardent desire so conspicuous in the breasts of young men, of "seeing the world." The sea, flowing constantly before his eyes, presented at once a fair field for support as well as for adventure; and in 1778, when the age of twenty-one had been just obtained, he was employed in the situation of a ship's carpenter, on board an *East countryman*. In this vessel

vessel he made a voyage to Dantzic and the Baltick, and sailed so early in the season, that his proved to be one of the first ships that passed the Sound in the course of that year.

But although upon this occasion he obtained some nautical knowledge, he soon began to conceive the scene too narrow for him. To an ardent mind, his present situation afforded but little prospect of obtaining either wealth or advancement; his faculties could reap but little instruction or advantage from the details of a vessel alternately laden with coals and hemp; and the short transit across the North Sea to the ports of Russia and Sweden presented but a scanty field of action. He appears at this period to have been eager after the acquisition of knowledge, to have panted for adventure, and to have been extremely desirous to see distant countries. All this was natural, nay, perhaps laudable, but it will be seen in the sequel that this love of *incident*, as it is generally usual in those cases, led him into danger and difficulty, and had nearly cost him his life.

“In 1779,” adds he, “I was stationed on board of a vessel out of the port of Shields, bound for the island of Grenada. We sailed on the 17th of March the same year, to join convoy, the ship being commanded by a West India captain, sent from London, who engaged a person as coasting pilot to take her to Portsmouth, but we could not find our way thither.

“I must acknowledge, that we rode out a very heavy gale of wind in Yarmouth Roads, but after that had moderated, while making for the channel, during the night, and with one watch below, she run upon the Flemish Banks. On this all was confusion, for the people did whatsoever they pleased. The ship,  
from

from the violence of the sea, struck very heavy, and being coal-laden and old, it was found she would soon go to pieces. In getting the boats out, the long-boat was stove, which proved a fortunate circumstance, for had the crew left the ship, not knowing which way to steer, there was the most imminent danger of perishing immediately.

“In the mean time, the captain and coasting pilot were consulting the chart, and concluded that we were cast away upon the Goodwin Sands. As for myself, it was not my turn to be on deck at the time the accident occurred, but I knew that the ship was to have been tacked by order at ten o’clock at night; it being then a little past one in the morning, I was clear, from our reckoning, that we must be on the French coast; I therefore supposed that as it was after the time of high water, if the vessel held out but a little time longer, the tide would leave her, and we might obtain assistance.

“I accordingly requested the captain to order a few signal guns to be fired, and prevailed upon the men who had stopped the hole in the long-boat by means of some bags, and seemed determined to put off, to defer their departure for some time. I enforced my proposition by observing, that if they remained with the ship but an hour or two longer, they would then enjoy the benefit of daylight; that in the mean time she did not beat so heavy as she had done, and that some good might be effected by the signals of distress we were then about to recur to.

“The result was exactly as I had prognosticated; for after a few guns had been fired lights were displayed on the shore; the vessel as the tide receded became stationary, and by break of day the sea was about half a mile distant from us, and the town of Calais not more than a couple of miles. In the course of two hours more, boats came off with a company of French soldiers, who immediately took possession of every thing, and we were conducted ashore under an escort, the two nations being then at war.

“I have been rather minute in the description of these particulars,” continues Mr. Greathead, “as I had not then been two years at sea, in consequence of the strong impression made upon me. In addition to this, I was not a little confounded at the great neglect of running upon a weather-shore; for if we had tacked

tacked at the time the pilot ordered, this could not possibly have occurred.

“ On the other hand, if any species of fraud was designed, with a view of cheating the underwriters, those privy to it might of course make themselves easy, knowing precisely where they were, and what was intended. On my return, at the end of five years, I inquired into the circumstances of the case, but am still unable to decide positively. I however learned that the pilot had been killed on board his majesty's ship *Serapis*; and the owner himself told me that he did not recover the insurance; but for what particular cause I cannot say.

“ After about two months residence at Calais an incident occurred the idea of which gives me great pleasure, although I am unluckily unable to recollect the name of my benefactor. Two or three of us happening one day to walk near the place where we had got on shore, a French gentleman, who was then at his farm, close to the spot, addressed us in English, which he spoke very fluently, and invited us into his house, where he treated us with the greatest hospitality and attention. I afterwards dined with him several times by appointment, and before he set out for Paris, as well as on the day of his departure, he requested me to receive such supplies of eggs, butter, and poultry, as I might stand in need of during my stay. I call on heaven to reward him for his goodness, and most sincerely hope he has escaped the troubles that have lately ravaged his distracted country.

“ I at length left France in the brig *Aldie*, Captain Brown, from Scotland, which like our own vessel had been stranded on the coast, and like her too was bound to the Grenades. It may appear extraordinary, as the two countries were still engaged in hostilities, how she got away, and how I, a prisoner of war, although not in confinement, also obtained leave to depart. But the truth is, that the expences incurred by recovering the *Aldie* in the first instance, and unloading her cargo in the second, added to the sum due for her repairs, and the amount of the customary duties, warehouse-room, &c. far exceeded the real value of the ship to the captors, and Captain Brown's total abandonment would therefore have been a loss instead of a gain to the French.

“ On an application, therefore, to the governor, a court of admiralty

rality was held, and it was there resolved that, on condition the master would pay all charges, he was to be allowed to leave the port. The Duchess of Kingston was at that period in the town, and the chief mate having mentioned the circumstance to her Grace one day that he happened to meet her on the ramparts, I have reason to believe that the influence of this lady contributed also something to the above event.

"It may not be altogether improper in this place to mention a little circumstance respecting myself, as it will explain perhaps the cause of my own liberation. It became necessary, as I was told, that I should attend a court of admiralty, on purpose to join in a protest relative to the loss of the ship I myself had belonged to, in which it was affirmed that she was driven on shore by *stress of weather*, with a view of recovering the amount of the policy of insurance.

"I was then extremely ignorant of those matters; but when the process was explained to me, I, neither in justice to my own conscience, nor the interests of the unknown insurers, could swear to such a narrative, or even sign it. This occasioned several meetings, when my reasons proved so satisfactory to some French gentlemen, that they became my friends, and the papers were altered so as to remove my scruples before I would affix my name. But even then, I did not take an oath to the truth of the statement, pleading that I had not sufficient experience in these matters.

"In the course of time I found much kindness to result from this. I was almost admitted to my liberty, with certain restrictions, on giving my parole; and it was even hinted, that when any opportunity suitable to my wishes occurred, I should be indulged with leave to depart.

"Accordingly, on an application for that purpose, I was permitted to accompany Captain Brown, and leave was at the same time granted to take all my clothes, chests, &c. along with me.

"Soon after our departure from the French coast, we arrived at Spithead, where it was my intention to have quitted the vessel; but as the fleet under Admiral Kempenfelt, who I believe was at that time commander in chief on this station, happened to be lying there, one of the launches from his ship was immediately sent to us, and an officer took our master back with him. Nearly at the same

same time the impress boat boarded us, and we were informed that the scarcity of seamen was such that we should all be obliged to serve. While busied in preparations to depart, as well as in making inquiries respecting the men of war on board of which we might enter, provided we should be allowed the liberty of choice, our captain returned, and we found that he had made such good use of his time that the Admiral granted him permission to proceed immediately with the whole of his crew, in order that he might have an opportunity of overtaking the West India convoy, which had sailed from the Motherbank but the day before. This was indeed very kind on the part of the Admiral, who had taken into his consideration the great expences the owners had already incurred, as well as the further loss likely to be sustained by detention.

“ We accordingly got under weigh ; and as matters were so situated, the Captain offered me a sum of money, by way of consideration, to proceed along with him on the voyage. I had now no alternative, and therefore complied ; but had I then known as much of the merits of the officers employed in his majesty’s service as I do at this moment, I am sure I would have made choice of the navy.

“ We now made sail, as has been already stated, but were not fortunate enough to overtake the convoy, according to expectation. Our passage too was rendered tedious, by being obliged to shun every vessel we saw : but we found that the loss of part of the Aldie’s cargo in France proved advantageous, as she was so light, and in such good trim, that we were enabled to elude the pursuit of all the ships that happened to give chase to us.

“ During this voyage, while *running down the trades*,\* I observed a complete eclipse of the sun : it was about the meridian, and a total darkness ensued. This and other matters were all regularly set down by me ; but as I did not then suppose that they were of any consequence, the journal I kept was never taken care of.

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\* This is the sea-term used after falling in with the *trade-winds*, which blow in one direction, and afford great facilities in a voyage from Europe.—Ed.

“ Another

“ Another remarkable circumstance also occurred at this period, which, like the former, I shall detail from memory. Although no less than four of us kept the ship's way, and we were enabled to take an observation every day, yet by all our reckonings we were considerably to the westward of the island before we made it, and deemed it prudent to *heave to* during two whole nights for fear of running upon the Grenadilloes.\*

“ This incorrectness however did not proceed from any fault on our part, but was occasioned by employing the half-minute glasses which we had obtained at Calais. These were formed so as to correspond with the French foot, which at that time measured thirteen English inches; and as we made use of the ship's old log line, which was divided after the usual manner, of twelve inches to a foot, our *time* necessarily became erroneous, and this mistake was the consequence.

“ After our arrival at the Grenades, I left the *Aldie*, and engaged as mate of the *Carolina*, commanded by Captain Massnard, of London, then loading for Quebec and Montreal. In consequence of the omission already alluded to, relative to my journal, the precise date of our departure cannot be ascertained; but I well recollect, that in taking the leeward passage for America we were very near running ashore during a calm on Rock Dundo, (*Rodondo*).

“ A fortnight after this, we were taken by the General Putman, an American privateer mounting twenty guns, on which occasion I lost all my effects. We were then carried into New London, and sent in a short time after to New York in a *cartel*. On our arrival in that port I was impressed on board his majesty's sloop of war the *Scorpion*, where I remained above a year, and was then transferred to the *Vulture*, another sloop of war.

“ It would be superfluous for me to state all the various events which I witnessed during the continuance of hostilities. I shall only observe that while in the former of these vessels I accompanied the expedition fitted out under the late Admiral Sir George Collier, against Newhaven, Fairfield, and Norfolk, in the East River.

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\*Small islands and rocks in the neighbourhood of Grenada.—*Ed.*

River. In the latter, which had been coppered at Halifax, and was, I believe, the first vessel on which that operation was ever performed in America, I cruised all the way from Spanish River to St. Augustine, in the Floridas. I was on board at the time she was commanded by Rupert George, Esq. on which occasion she engaged *Le Hermoine*, Captain La Touche, a French frigate of thirty-six guns. I went up Hudson's River in her, where the unfortunate Major Andre left us, and General Arnold came on board. In short, I participated in all the adventures of this vessel until the conclusion of the war, when I also returned home on board of her.

"During my stay in America," adds the writer, "I paid great attention to the construction of vessels of every description, having been always devoted to marine architecture, a study which I had cultivated from my infancy.

"In the year 1785, I commenced business for myself, as a boat-builder, at South Shields; and in 1786 I married Miss Wood, of Norwich, daughter of Mr. John Wood, late Collector of Excise in the eastern district of Yorkshire; by whom I have had six children, two of whom only (a son and a daughter) are now alive."

Here ends the genuine narrative with which we have been favoured, through the kind intervention of a friend; but we shall be enabled to conclude the article from a variety of authentic information now before us.

It is impossible, perhaps, to state the precise period when the idea of a *life-boat* originated with the subject of this memoir. We have already seen that he himself had been stranded early in life, during the night, and with but little hopes of escape, on the coast of France. At another time he was nearly in a similar predicament in the West Indies; and while employed on board of king's ships during the Ame-

rican war, if he did not actually experience, must have been familiar with, many of the hardships to which shipwrecked mariners are exposed. The *lucky thought* perhaps may have originated at this period, and floated in his mind for many years, until brought into action by the exigence of a particular circumstance.\*

The incidents which produced the practical experiment that proved so successful, occurred about four years after Mr. Greathead had settled in business. In the month of September, 1789, the *Adventure of Newcastle* happened to strand on the *Herd*, a shoal near the place of his abode ; and being surrounded by tremendous breakers, although there were many thousands of spectators near the spot, yet none of them could be tempted by any reward to venture off to the assistance of the crew. In consequence of being thus destitute of all hopes of succour, the men who had taken refuge in the rigging became so enfeebled as to drop off one by one, and thus perished within a few hundred yards of the shore.

On this, some public-spirited inhabitants of South Shields called a meeting, appointed a committee,

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\* When examined before a committee of the House of Commons in March 1802, Mr. Greathead stated, that the following idea had frequently occurred to him, from which he had conceived the principle of his invention, viz. Take a spheroid, and divide it into quarters: each quarter is elliptical, and nearly resembles the half of a wooden bowl, having a curvature with projecting ends. "This," added he, "thrown into the sea or broken water, cannot be upset or lie with the bottom upwards."

and, as none of the fishermen had dared to put off in any boat or coble of the common construction, a premium was offered for the plan of any vessel so formed as to *live* during a tempest, and move about without danger in broken water.

Many proposals were delivered in, but the preference was unanimously bestowed on the model of Mr. Greathead, who was immediately directed to build a boat at the expence of the subscribers. On this he proceeded to carry his theory into practice ; and at length produced a vessel, of which the following popular description\* is given by Dr. Hawes in his Report to the Royal Humane Society, in consequence

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\* Here follows a more scientific description from Mr. Hinderswell's Letter to the Royal Humane Society, dated Scarborough, 1802.

“ The length is thirty feet ; the breadth ten feet ; the depth, from the top of the gunwale to the lower part of the keel in midships, three feet four inches ; from the gunwale to the platform (within) two feet four inches ; from the top of the stems (both ends being similar) to the bottom of the keel, five feet nine inches. The keel is a plank of three inches thick, of a proportionate breadth in midships, narrowing gradually toward the ends, to the breadth of the stems at the bottom, and forming a great convexity downward ; the stems are segments of a circle with considerable rakes ; the bottom section, to the floor heads, is a curve fore and aft with the sweep of the keel ; the floor-timber has a small rise curving from the keel to the floor heads ; a bilge plank is wrought in on each side next the floor heads, with a double rabbit or groove of a similar thickness with the keel, and on the outside of this are fixed two bilge-trees corresponding nearly with the level of the keel ; the ends of the bottom section form that fine kind of entrance observable in the lower part of the bow of the fishing-boat

quence of which a gold medal was presented to the inventor :

“ The boat is thirty feet by ten, in form much resembling a common Greenland boat, except the bottom, which is much flatter. She is lined with cork inside and outside of the gunwale, about two feet in breadth, and the seats underneath are filled with cork also.

“ She is rowed by ten men, double banked ; and steered by two men with oars, one at each end, both ends being alike.

“ Long poles are provided for the men to keep the boat from being drove broadside to the shore, either in going off or landing. About six inches from the lower poles it increases in diameter, so as to form a flat surface against the sand, otherwise they would sink into the sand, and be of no use. The weight of the cork used in the boat is about seven cwt. She draws very little water, and when full is able to carry twenty people.

“ The boat is able to contend against the most tremendous sea and broken water ; and never, in any one instance, has she failed in bringing the crew in distress into safety. The men have no dread in going off with her in the highest sea, and broken water. Cork jackets were provided for them ; but their confidence in the boat is so great that they will not use them.

“ She has surprised every nautical man that has seen her contend with the waves.”

This

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called a coble, much used in the North ; from this part to the top of the stem it is more elliptical, forming a considerable projection ; the sides from the floor heads to the top of the gunwale, flaunch off on each side, in proportion to about half the breadth of the floor ; the breadth is continued far forward toward the ends, leaving a sufficient length of straight side at the top ; the sheer is regular along the straight side, and more elevated toward the ends ; the gunwale fixed on the outside is three inches thick ; the sides, from the under part of the gunwale along the whole length of the regular sheer, extending twenty-one feet six inches, are cased with layers of cork to the depth of sixteen inches downward ; and the thickness

This vessel went out for the first time on the 30th of January, 1790, and never from that day to the present

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thickness of this casing of cork being four inches, it projects at the top a little without the gunwale; the cork on the outside is secured with thin plates or slips of copper, and the boat is fastened with copper nails; the thwarts (or seats) are five in number, double banked, consequently the boat may be rowed with ten oars; the thwarts are firmly stanchioned; the side oars are short, with iron tholes, and rope grommets, so that the rower can pull either way.

“ The boat is steered with an oar at each end, and the steering oar is one third longer than the rowing oar; the platform placed at the bottom within the boat is horizontal the length of the midships, and elevated at the ends, for the convenience of the steersman, to give him a greater power with the oar. The internal part of the boat next the sides, from the under part of the thwarts down to the platform, is cased with cork; the whole quantity of which affixed to the life-boat, is nearly seven hundred weight: the cork indisputably contributes much to the buoyancy of the boat when full of water, is a good defence when going alongside a vessel, and is of principal use in keeping the boat in an erect position in the sea, or rather of giving her a very lively and quick disposition to recover from any sudden cant or lurch which she may receive from the stroke of a heavy wave: but exclusive of the cork, the admirable construction of this boat gives it a decided pre-eminence. The ends being similar, the boat can be rowed either way, and this peculiarity of form alleviates her in rising over the waves; the curvature of the keel and bottom facilitates her movement in turning, and contributes to the ease of the steerage, as a single stroke of the steering oar has an immediate effect, the boat moving as it were upon a centre; the fine entrance below is of use in dividing the waves, when rowing against them; and combined with the convexity of the bottom, and the elliptical form of the stem, admits her to rise with wonderful buoyancy in a high sea, and to launch forward with rapidity, without shipping any water, when a common boat would be in danger of being filled. The launching or spreading form of the  
boat,

present has in one single instance disappointed the expectations either of the builder or the purchasers.

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boat, from the floor heads to the gunwale, gives her a considerable bearing; and the continuation of the breadth well forward is a great support to her in the sea; and it has been found by experience, that boats of this construction are the best sea-boats for rowing against the turbulent waves. The internal shallowness of the boat from the gunwale down to the platform, the convexity of the form, and the bulk of cork within, leave a very diminished space for the water to occupy; so that the life-boat, when filled with water, contains a considerably less quantity than the common boat, and is in no danger either of sinking or overturning. It may be presumed by some, that in cases of high wind, agitated sea, and broken waves, a boat of such a bulk could not prevail against them by the force of the oars; but the life-boat, from her peculiar form, may be rowed a-head, when the attempt in other boats would fail. Boats of the common form, adapted for speed, are of course put in motion with a small power, but for want of buoyancy and bearing are over-run by the waves and sunk, when impelled against them; and boats constructed for burthen meet with too much resistance from the wind and sea, when opposed to them, and cannot in such cases be rowed from the shore to a ship in distress.—An idea has been entertained that the superior advantages of the life-boat are to be ascribed solely to the quantity of cork affixed; but this is a very erroneous opinion, and I trust has been amply refuted by the preceding observations on the construction of this boat. It must be admitted that the application of cork to common boats would add to their buoyancy and security; and it might be a useful expedient if there was a quantity of cork on board of ships, to prepare the boats with in cases of shipwreck; as it might be expeditiously done, in a temporary way, by means of clamps or some other contrivance. The application of cork to some of the boats of his majesty's ships might be worthy of consideration, more particularly as an experiment might be made at a little expence, and without injury to the boats."

It was found upon trial, that the peculiar nature of the curvature of the keel constituted the foundation of its excellence ; and the spectators beheld with a mixture of joy and astonishment, that in consequence of her novel mode of construction, she was enabled both to ascend and descend with great facility across the breakers. The ends being reduced regularly from the centre to less than one third proportion of the mid-ships, were lighter than the body section ; and the centre of gravity being placed exactly in the centre of the boat, she preserved an equilibrium in the midst of the broken water, while her internal shallowness left so small a space for the sea to occupy that there was no danger of sinking or upsetting.

As some accident might accrue, however, each of the crew was at first provided with a cork jacket, by way of precaution, which was actually put on during two or three trials ; but the men, as already mentioned, soon became so well convinced of their security that they have long since omitted to carry any provision of this kind along with them.

Many lives having been saved by this fortunate invention, which would otherwise have been lost to the community, it may be supposed that in an enlightened age and country like the present the plan would have been immediately adopted in all our ports, and its author suddenly rewarded by means of fame and wealth ; but we are sorry to observe that it was by slow degrees that the life-boat became known to the public, and that a period of more than ten years had elapsed

elapsed before Mr. Greathead reaped any permanent benefit from his labours.

It has already been noticed that we are indebted, if not for the discovery, at least for the practical effort which produced the actual construction to the spirited and humane exertions of the shipowners and inhabitants of South Shields in 1789. To the honour of the Duke of Northumberland be it recorded, that he soon after became sensible of the utility of the invention, and with a princely munificence employed the artist to construct a life-boat, which he himself presented to North Shields. This answering beyond expectation, he generously sent another to Oporto, where we have a flourishing factory.

The Literary and Philosophical Society\* at Newcastle upon Tyne, also, at a very early period, noticed the discovery with applause, and passed a vote of approbation, which was accompanied by a donation of five guineas. In addition to this it recommended the inventor, in 1801, to one of its members.† On the 4th of March, 1802, the corporation of the Trinity House passed an unanimous vote, accompanying a donation of one hundred guineas; a like sum was

\* Sir John Edward Swinburne was at that time the president; and to him, as well as to Thomas Bigg, Esq. a gentleman of liberal education and independent fortune, Mr. Greathead acknowledges himself to have been greatly obliged.

† Mr. Burdon, M. P. for the county palatine of Durham.

given by the subscribers at Lloyd's, and from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences the inventor received a gold medallion and fifty guineas.

At length the reward of this important discovery was deemed a fit subject for national munificence; and a petition having been presented to the House of Commons, stating, that "not fewer than two hundred lives had been saved at the entrance of the Tyne alone, which otherwise must have been lost, and in no instance had the life-boat failed," the same was referred to a committee, February 22, 1802. It appears from the report now before us, that the members were at great pains to ascertain :

- 1st, The utility of the life-boat ;
- 2dly, The originality of the invention ; and
- 3dly, Whether any and what remuneration had been obtained.

In order to ascertain these facts, a number of witnesses were examined, from whose testimony we shall only extract a few of the most important particulars.

Ralph Hillery, a seaman during forty-five years in the Greenland and coal trade, stated, that about three years before he went in the Northumberland life-boat to the relief of the sloop Edinburgh, which had been stranded, and took seven men on shore, "although the sea was at that time monstrously high—so high that no other boat whatever could have lived in it." He added, that "he had been five times out in her to the relief of different ships, from one  
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of which they saved fifteen men, and in every instance they brought off the crews of the wrecked ships." He further added, that "in the event of the life-boat's filling with water, she would still continue upright, and would not founder as boats of a common construction do. About two months ago he saw her come on shore with a ship's crew (besides her own crew), so full of water that it ran over each side; the sea had broken several of her oars; and he believes that no boat of any other construction could have brought the men on shore so filled with water."

Captain William Carter, of the ship *Providence*, of Newcastle, who had resided twenty-five years at South Shields, and been fifteen years in the coal and Baltic trades, gave an evidence, that while riding at anchor on Tynemouth-bar, on the 28th of November, 1797, he saw the ship *Planter* driven on shore by the violence of the gale, about one hundred yards from him. On this "the life-boat came off, and took fifteen persons out of her, and they had scarcely quitted the ship when she went to pieces; they must all otherwise have inevitably perished, as the wreck came on shore almost as soon as the boat."

Mr. Richard Wilson, a ship-owner of Scarborough, stated, "that he had an opportunity of observing the advantage of the life-boat there in November last, when a small vessel anchored in the road about a mile from the pier-head, in a very heavy gale of wind, in which she had lost the principal part of her sails. The sea was then running very high, and the pilots, and fishermen of the town  
thought

thought it unsafe to venture out with their own boats to her assistance, although she had hoisted signals of distress. In consequence of this the life-boat was immediately launched, and she conveyed a rope from the pier-head to the vessel, by which means the vessel was drawn into the harbour, which he believes to have been the means of preserving both the crew and the vessel.

Captain Gilfrid Lawson Reed, an elder brother of the Trinity House, also bore ample testimony to the excellence of the invention.

Mr. Thomas Hinderwell, of Scarborough, gave a description of the construction as well as properties of the life-boat: and pointed out the difference between her and the Norway yawl, the latter of which is directed by means of a rudder, while the former is steered at either end by an oar, and will row either end foremost.\*

Mr.

\* The life-boat at Dover is called the *Crab*, in consequence of this circumstance, as will be seen by the following letter from that port:

“ Our curiosity has long been raised by the knowledge that a life-boat of a peculiar construction was building here by the man who saved the prize-master and prisoners floating on the wreck of the French gun-boat that drifted past the harbour in the winter.

“ Sir Sidney Smith, who gave the plan of this boat, came down from London yesterday, and tried it at sea, with eighteen men embarked on board, attended by Captain Western of the Sea Fencibles, in a Deal boat. The piers and beach were crowded with spectators, who felt much anxiety at seeing her make her first plunge into the swell at the harbour's mouth; she rose, how-

Mr. Samuel Plumb, of Lower Shadwell, said he had gone out in one of the life-boats, to the relief of a ship which was stranded on the coast near the mouth of the river Tyne. In the first attempt the rope thrown from the wreck to the life-boat broke ; but in the second they succeeded, and brought the crew on shore.

Mr. William Masterman of South Shields, being next called upon, observed, that he was one of the original committee that ordered the life-boat at South Shields in 1789. In consequence of the situation of his house, he had frequently witnessed the performance of the life-boat, and had sometimes assisted in getting her ready. He gave it as his opinion, that she could be launched from the beach at Deal during a storm with the same ease and certainty as any other; and added, that "when the Gateshead Planter, and other ships, were wrecked, it was first discovered that the life-boat could act with perfect safety athwart the sea; and since that time the boat has been rowed

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ever, at the top of every wave; and as soon as the mast was secured, the rigging of which appeared defective, the sails were set, and she moved with great rapidity through the breakers, which hid her from our sight. The Deal boat, although a large galley of above forty feet long, found the sea too much for her, and put back into harbour. The life-boat, which is called the Cancer or Crab from her manner of moving and taking the ground, landed on the beach without the smallest inconvenience from the surf; and was hauled above high-water mark by the spectators, who greeted the enterprising crew, for whose safety they had been so anxious, with most heartfelt satisfaction.

athwart

athwart sea or otherwise indifferently, as the object to be relieved required it; and that she goes with the same safety from one object to another in a broken, as an ordinary boat would pass from one ship to another in a smooth sea. That he is confident since the establishment of the life-boat there have been at least three hundred persons brought on shore from ships in distress and wrecks off Shields, the greatest part of whom must otherwise inevitably have perished. And the witness added, that it was his opinion, founded upon experience and the observations he had been enabled to make, that no sea, however high, could upset or sink the life-boat."

As the facts had been thus sufficiently ascertained, it now only remained to apportion the reward; and the report of the committee being referred to the house on the 26th of May, 1802, Mr. Burdon, M. P. for the county palatine of Durham, after insisting on the importance of the discovery, and the ample testimony which had been adduced of its merits, moved that the sum of one thousand pounds should be voted to Mr. Greathead, by way of compensation. Sir Matthew White Ridley observed, that as five hundred seamen had been already saved by this discovery, the above sum would be only forty shillings a-head for a number of the most valuable members of the community, which he deemed a very inadequate reward; he therefore moved, that instead of one thousand pounds, two thousand pounds should be inserted in the resolution. Messrs. Grey, Wilberforce, Martin, Hawkins Browne, and Dr. Lawrence

rence concurred in this opinion; and as it was the popular, so it would have been the prevailing one, but for one or two members, who thought that after a long and expensive war the house was not justified in adding to the burthens of the people.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) also remarked, "that one thousand pounds was a larger sum to Mr. Greathead, than the ten thousand pounds which had just been granted to Dr. Jenner;" and it is probable that no addition would have taken place had it not been for the intervention of Mr. Whitbread; who remarked, that the expences incurred by the inventor during his stay in London while prosecuting his petition, joined to the fees of office, would amount to a considerable deduction; on which twelve hundred pounds was unanimously granted.

Since this period, every succeeding year, by confirming the utility of the invention, has added to the reputation of Mr. Greathead, and multitudes of ship-wrecked mariners on the coasts of England and Scotland have been extricated by his means from inevitable destruction. In short, the advantages resulting from the employment of life-boats are now fully acknowledged, and a laudable eagerness has been exhibited throughout all parts of the British empire for establishing them on every part of the coast where they are likely to prove serviceable. The merchants of London, with that degree of public spirit for which they were always celebrated, have  
subscribed

subscribed large sums of money expressly for this purpose.

Not only at Whitby, at North and South Shields, at Exmouth, at Penzance, at Plymouth, at Newhaven, at Ramsgate, at Dover, at Liverpool, and at Lowestoffe, are life-boats now stationed, but at St. Andrew's, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Ayr.

From Ireland also we learn that a spirited and beneficent individual\* has lately obtained a vessel of this description for one of the most dangerous parts of its coast; while in Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, they have been introduced by the respective sovereigns of those countries. The emperor Alexander, indeed, with that attention to merit, which so eminently distinguished the reign of his grandmother Catherine II. not only ordered a life-boat to be built at South Shields in the yard of Mr. Greathead, but in addition to a liberal remuneration for his labours, presented him with a diamond ring as a mark of his esteem.

We rejoice exceedingly in the distinguished success of the inventor; we lament that the reward bestowed on him by parliament was not greater. We congratulate the country on a circumstance that he was first brought into general notice by the marked and discriminating attention of a provincial society of men of letters; and we now take our leave of a man whom we consider as the benefactor, not of his native country only, but of nations, with the con-

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\* The Right Hon. David Latouche.

cluding stanza of an ode, composed by a physician,\* who has himself frequently witnessed the havoc made by a dangerous and unrelenting element :

“ Thine was the task, advent’rous man !

To snatch the victim from the wave ;—

Blest be the head that form’d the plan,

The heart that had the wish to save !

“ Impell’d by nice mechanic arts,

The well-trimm’d skiff its aid imparts ;

The deep yields up its half-won prey,

And sinking eye-balls beam with day !

“ A gift beyond the poet’s flame !

A grateful crew shall incense burn ;

And GREATHEAD shine in deathless fame,

While love and friendship hail the tar’s return !”



## SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, KNT.

RECORDER OF BOMBAY.

SOME writers have attempted to regulate genius as philosophers do heat, by means of a graduated scale, and boldly decide on the talents of the inhabitants by a mere reference to the geographical position of a country. The opinions of others are, on the contrary, nicely adjusted by the question of descent ; and certain *races* are deemed by them utterly incapable of attaining excellence, being destitute of the power of either possessing or acquiring any considerable degree of mental superiority.

Without presuming finally to decide on the latter

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\* Dr. Trotter, Physician to the fleet.

question, it is a well-known fact, that in the northern portion of this island, two apparently distinct species of men are produced ; which, until of late years, were totally dissimilar in their language, country, occupations, character, and pursuits. The classes to which we now obviously refer are the inhabitants of the hills, as contrasted with those of the plains of Scotland, designated for ages past by the appellation of the *Highlanders* and the *Lowlanders* ; and who, until a very recent period, not only were accustomed to treat each other with contempt, but seldom or never intermarried together, or even kept up any of the common relations of life.

“ The former of these,” according to Sir John Dalrymple, who describes them very favourably indeed, and with great ability, “ are a people untouched by the Roman or Saxon invaders of the south, or by the Danish on the east and west skirts of their country ; the unmixed remains of the Celtic empire, which once stretched from the Pillars of Hercules to Archangel. They were composed,” adds he, “ of a number of tribes, called *Clans*, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal but the patriarchal bond : for while the individuals who composed it were vassals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were also descended from his family, and could count the exact degrees of their descent : and the right of primogeniture, together with the weakness of the laws to reach inaccessible countries, and more inaccessible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted these natural principles of connexion between the chieftain and his people into the most sacred ties of human life.

“ The castle of the chieftain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome ; where he was entertained according to his station in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the sound of war. Thus the meanest of the clan, know-

ing himself to be as well-born as the head of it, revered in his chieftain his own honour ; loved in his clan his own blood ; complained not of the difference of station into which fortune had thrown him, and respected himself. The chieftain, in return, bestowed a protection, founded on gratitude and the consciousness of his own interest. Hence the Highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried, in the outward expression of their manners, the politeness of courts without their vices, and in their bosoms the high point of honour without its follies.

“ As they were, by the rugged sterility of their country, and the uncertainty of their climate, excluded alike from manufacture and extensive agriculture, every family raised just as much grain and made as much raiment as sufficed for itself : and nature destined them to the life of shepherds. Hence they had not that excess of industry which reduces man to a machine, nor that total want of it, which sinks him into a rank of animals below his own. They lived in villages, built in vallies and by the sides of rivers. At two seasons of the year they were busy ; the one in the end of the spring and beginning of summer, when they put the plough into the little ground they had capable of receiving it ; sowed their grain, and laid in provision of turf for their winter’s fuel : the other just before winter, when they reaped their harvest : the rest of the year was all their own for amusement or for war. If not engaged in war, they indulged themselves in summer in the most delicious of all enjoyments, to men in a cold climate and romantic country, the enjoyment of the sun, and the summer views of nature ; never in the house during the day, even sleeping often at night in the open air, among the mountains and woods. They spent the winter in the chase, while the sun was up ; and in the evening, assembled round a common fire, they entertained themselves with the song, the tale, and the dance : but they were ignorant of sitting days and nights at games of skill or hazard, amusements that keep the body in inaction, and the mind in a state of vicious activity.

“ The want of a good, and even a fine ear for music, was almost unknown among them, because it was kept in continual practice among the multitude from passion ; but by the wiser few, because they knew that the love of music heightened the courage, and softened the tempers of their people. Their vocal  
music

music was plaintive, even to the depth of melancholy; their instrumental, either lively for brisk dances, or martial for the battle. Some of their tunes contained the great but natural idea of a history described in music:—the joys of a marriage, the noise of a quarrel, the sounding to arms, the rage of a battle, the broken disorder of a flight; the whole concluding with a solemn dirge and lamentation for the slain. By the loudness and artificial jarring of their war-instrument, the bag-pipe, which played continually during the action, their spirits were exerted to a frenzy of courage in battle.”

From the above quotation, which must be allowed to afford a specimen of the manners of the ancient rather than of the modern Highlanders, it will be readily perceived that they were but little acquainted with arts and manufactures, addicted to war and the chase, unused to the luxuries of polished societies, and totally divested of literary attainments (poetry, perhaps, excepted), which in general can only be acquired and cultivated in a high state of civilization and refinement. Hence have some vaguely inferred, that because the inhabitants of the Alpine regions of North Britain had not distinguished themselves by works of fancy and erudition, they were destitute of genius; while others, with still greater absurdity, have maintained that this peculiar race of men were incapable of attaining any high degree of excellence, in respect to mental endowments. That this theory is unsupported by facts, the life of the subject of this memoir, and the writings of a multitude of his countrymen, within these last twenty years, will sufficiently testify.

James Mackintosh was born in the obscure parish

of Dorish, in the shire of Inverness, a district which, both in respect to situation and language, has always been considered as constituting part of the northern highlands of Scotland, on the 24th of October, 1765. The Mackintoshes, or rather *M'Kintosbes*, of which his family constituted a branch, was one of the most ancient, although not of the most powerful clans in the north. They could at one time, however, bring five or six hundred fighting men into the field ; but their chieftain was at length eclipsed by more potent neighbours, and they themselves were obliged to recur to policy, in order to preserve their political and civil existence. In the rebellion of 1715, we believe they were unanimous, but in 1745 they temporised, one portion having joined the Pretender under the banners of a high-minded female,\* while the remainder prudently kept aloof from the contest.

The father of the subject of this memoir, like most, if not all his progenitors, was bred to arms, and having obtained a commission in the British troops, spent some years in the service ; during which period he was stationed with his regiment for a considerable time in the garrison of Gibraltar. It was in consequence perhaps of this circumstance, that the care of his eldest son† was entrusted to a grandmother. To the inspection of this old lady, James was confided, until he had attained that age when

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\* Lady Mackintosh.

† Captain Mackintosh had three children, two sons and a daughter.

boys are usually rescued from the seeming thralldom of female tuition. On this occasion, instead of being sent to the town of Inverness, now famous for its schools, he was removed to the village of Fortrose, where some of his near relations happened to reside. After having obtained a knowledge of the Latin grammar, and read Corderius, Ovid, Virgil, and Horace, Mr. Stalker, who had witnessed the early superiority of young Mackintosh's talents, advised his friends to send him to a neighbouring university.

Mr. Mackintosh accordingly repaired to King's College, Old Aberdeen, where he acquired a knowledge of the Greek, under Mr. Leslie, who was then deemed emiently qualified for teaching what is there called the *Bejant*, or initiatory class. From the late James Dunbar, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy,\* he received instructions also in his department, which includes mathematics, &c. The author of this article has heard him speak with great respect of his pupil. On the other hand, he has also most heartily acquiesced in the praises bestowed by Mr. Mackintosh on Mr. William Ogilvie,† Professor of Humanity, whose elegant Latin prelections have been generally admired.

It now became necessary for our young student to fix definitively on some profession, by means of which he could make his way through life. He al-

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\* Author of two works: 1, *De Primariis Civitatum Oratio*; and 2, *Essays on the History of Mankind*.

† Author of a work on the Descent of Landed Property.

ready delighted to rove like the bee, from flower to flower, and taste in a desultory manner without being cloyed with the honey of science. Indeed, had it wholly depended upon himself, it is not unlikely but that a regular occupation would have been still to seek. That of medicine was at length pitched upon, and Edinburgh having of late years attained an unrivalled celebrity in this branch of science, he accordingly repaired thither. As his father, we believe, was then on half pay, and his situation was not very affluent, the expences were cheerfully borne by an aunt, a worthy lady, who possessed a small estate in the neighbourhood of the place of his nativity, and treated him with all the affection of a parent.

He had now an opportunity to hear the lectures of Dr. William Cullen, at that time Professor of Practical Medicine, and author of the *First Lines of Physic*, as well as a work on the *Materia Medica*, &c. The well-known celebrity of this able physician attracted a crowd of students to the capital of Scotland, from its remotest provinces, and Mr. Mackintosh, as is too often the case with young men of a sprightly turn, and sanguine temperament, participated alike in the instruction and dissipation of that city.

Much has been said, and justly, against the temptations afforded to the students at our two English universities; but it will, perhaps, appear to not a few who have resided there, that the vortex into which some young men are drawn in the Caledonian metropolis

tropolis is to the full as dangerous as the excesses of Oxford and Cambridge.

Be this at it may, the gay, young, and volatile Highlander, now let loose from restraint, opened his eyes with delight on the scene around him. Hitherto accustomed only to the simple scenes and manners of his native "heath-covered mountains," he became suddenly initiated in the delights of a capital; and his appetite for sensual pleasures bore an exact proportion, perhaps, to his former abstinence from them. The great Roman historian, while speaking of a remote tribe, conveys a similar idea with his usual conciseness :

"Quanto ferocius ante se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse."\*

At this period Mr. Mackintosh, as we have been given to understand, was accustomed, in the language of the celebrated lyric poet,

"Cessare, et ludere,"

but we believe

"—— et ungi"

cannot be added, as he has never been accused of spending either his time or money on dress or perfumes.

It appeared to some, that his *aberrations* were too systematical to be easily reduced to order, as he was accustomed to study the profoundest questions in ethics amidst the hilarity of the festive board, and give dissertations on morals, while the Circean cup, en-

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\* Tacitus.

twined with barley-stalks instead of vine-leaves, was frequently replenished with Caledonian nectar. Notwithstanding this occasional dissipation, of the folly of which no one was more sensible than himself, he already began to be distinguished by those famous for their attainments. Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the *Wealth of Nations*, proffered him his friendship; and the Earl of Buchan, an accomplished nobleman, as well as a most zealous promoter of letters, honoured him by the proposal of writing a life of Fletcher of Saltoun, the Scottish patriot, in conjunction with himself.

At this period, he attended the chemical lectures of Professor Black, and, in consequence of the facilities afforded by nature rather than disposition, attained considerable knowledge in the profession for which he had been destined: what is not at all surprising to such as are well acquainted with him, he seemed best pleased with those parts of it, which appeared most abstruse. We apprehend, however, that even then, politics and metaphysics were his favourite pursuits, although there is but little doubt, that in respect to medicine he was far from being deficient. While engaged in that study, his chief companions were Ashe, Beddoes, Mackinna, Fleming, and Sayers of Norwich; and, like them, he was a member of the Royal Medical Society, of which he became one of the annual presidents, at the same time with John Haslam, M.D. a very ingenious man, at this moment apothecary to Bridewell and Bethlem hospitals.

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But we have some reason to suppose, that Mr. Mackintosh took far greater delight in the Speculative Society, originally instituted in 1764, for the purpose of improvement in public speaking and literary composition. There he distinguished himself, in conjunction with Wild, Laing, and Gillies, names since known in the southern portion of the island; although he did not make his *debut* as an orator at that place, his *maiden* speech being occupied about a professional subject.

At length, in 1787, he prepared to crown his labours, as usual, by a degree from the university; but this was not to be obtained without the drudgery of writing a Latin Thesis, which might have been procured indeed from some of the successors of a late ingenious theorist, who was accustomed to compose such as were wanted for a stated sum; but notwithstanding his customary indolence, his pride would not permit him to submit to such an application, and Mr. Mackintosh actually drew up one himself, a specimen of which should have been presented in this place had it not been mislaid by a friend. It was entitled “*De Actione Musculari*,” and had the following motto prefixed;

“*Latet arcanâ non enarrabile fibrâ.*”

When afterwards printed, as is usually the case on these occasions, it was dedicated to Dr. Alexander, for whom he entertained a great respect.

After a visit to, and a short stay in, his native province, Doctor Mackintosh repaired to the metropolis

polis of the empire, accompanied by the prayers, as well as the hopes of his relations, who fancied that such talents could not fail of obtaining equal encouragement and celebrity in a city like London. They doubtless supposed that a physician, clothed with academic honours, and already encircled by a blaze of reputation, would soon burst through the cobwebs of that narrow prejudice generally entertained against youth and inexperience, and already fancied him enriching his connexions, and even his country, with the reflux of his "golden gains." Little did they know, that a man hitherto occupied with what Lord Verulam significantly terms the *umbræ rerum*, is but ill calculated either to acquire or to retain wealth; and they never dreamed, that while mere theory is generally viewed with suspicion, a London physician seldom reaps the harvest of his toils until he has passed his grand climacteric, and is not suffered to feel the pulses of any but *paupers*, before he himself has literally one foot in his grave.

In his journey southwards, our graduate was accompanied by the eldest son of Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart. who about this period became knight of the shire for the county of Murray. With this young gentleman, who had been, like himself, a member of the Speculative Society, he formed an intimacy at Edinburgh; and he, or at least his family, might have proved eminently serviceable to him in his progress through life. But Mr. Grant was unfortunately obliged soon after to retire wholly from society,

society, in consequence of a disease that at length fixed in an habitual melancholy, so that all hopes in this quarter, if any had been really entertained, were suddenly blasted.

In the mean time, the young physician, instead of becoming, as is usually the case, a candidate for the medical direction of some extensive hospital, was eager after almost every other species of knowledge, *that only excepted by which he was to live*. One of the first books read by him in the capital was a work on political science, published about that period. Having heard much both of it and the author, he became extremely anxious to peruse it, and in a day or two after his arrival, he repaired with all possible expedition to a bookseller's shop, on purpose to become a purchaser. His disappointment, however, was so great, that instead of preserving it as a *vade mecum*, he immediately threw it into the flames, and in consequence of an entire coincidence on the part of the public, it has been long since consigned to oblivion.

But as his family was anxious in no common degree, that he should apply himself unceasingly to his original profession, some feeble attempts were made by Dr. Mackintosh to please them; yet as he himself never entertained any marked predilection for the practice of medicine, it may be easily conceived that he was not very urgent in the pursuit. Yet something was necessary to be done, for he had already endeavoured to open himself a road to fame, if not to fortune, by a pamphlet in favour of an unlimited and unfettered

fettered regency, in which he urged the *rights* of the Prince of Wales with all the zeal of youthful ardour. As this gentleman has since acquired so much well earned fame, it cannot in the least hurt his reputation to remark, that this first effort of a pen, which afterwards attained such eminence in political science, dropped *still-born* from the press, without uttering a single squeak. This may be easily accounted for from the temper of the times.

Mr. Pitt possessed many fervent admirers even among the zealots of liberty in 1788, and as it suited his interests at that period to take the popular side, his speeches were of course received and read with applause. His *law* too was sound, and bore the fiery ordeal of investigation; while the doctrines said to be laid down by Lord Loughborough, and adopted by the great and eloquent leader of the opposition, were supposed to have discovered no small portion of dross and of alloy at the bottom of the crucible. It is little to be wondered, therefore, that if the matured and comprehensive genius of Mr. Fox could make but little impression on the nation, that a mere *tyro*, however promising his talents might seem, should attract few readers, and receive but a scanty portion of the incense of applause.

Foiled therefore in this attempt, the young physician, provided with a medical title and we believe medical intentions, repaired to the continent, visited Leyden, so celebrated in the time of Boerhaave, that our schools were totally eclipsed by its splendour; then skirted along the borders of France, and repaired

paired to Liege, where at that period the Prince-bishop, openly supported by the house of Austria, had quarrelled with his subjects, who on their part were secretly inflamed to a resistance of their wrongs, by the court of Berlin. This, which occupied the attention of all Europe, was soon forgotten in a far greater event; and Dr. Mackintosh returned at the memorable epoch of the convocation of the states-general in France.

In the course of this journey, we believe he had, like Dr. Goldsmith on a similar occasion, borne up against the pressure of his circumstances with a happy degree of constitutional gaiety, that could not have been easily obtained through the mere consolation of philosophy. On his re-appearance, therefore, in the metropolis, his prospects were far from being brilliant; and although perhaps, to borrow the phraseology of one of his own favourite poets, he was not reduced, like the Grub-street poets of a former age, and even that great colossus of literature, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in our own, to

“ Spare fast that oft with gods doth diet;”

yet it is a well known fact, his affairs were in a *revolutionary state*, while his finances assimilated but too closely to those of a country which he had so lately contemplated; so that he was threatened with nearly the same result. We have some reason to suppose, that on this occasion he accidentally became known to Mr. John Bell of the British library, who always contemplating great, rather than profitable speculations, has proved the original Mæcnas to  
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half the young men of enterprising talents about town, and whose biography, if faithfully compiled, and honestly related, would include the early history of some of our celebrated legislators, several of the most successful dramatists, and not a few of the most popular poets, both male and female, of the present day.

Notwithstanding the aspect of his affairs was rather palliated than relieved by the produce of his literary labours at this period, yet he was still prepared to exclaim,

“Hence, loathed Melancholy !  
Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born  
In Stygian cave forlorn,” &c.

Even now he could woo Euphrosyne, and exclaim,

“Come, and trip it as you go,  
On the *light fantastic toe*——”

For we believe, at this period he was addicted to “sport that wrinkled care derides,” being sometimes accustomed to indulge in dancing\* until the approach of daylight.

His aunt, by whom he had been sent to college, had died some time before this period; and his father, Captain Mackintosh, who inherited, we believe, after her the little patrimonial estate of *Kyllachy*,

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\* While Mr. Mackintosh resided in Clipstone-street, he happened to occupy the house next to that of the late Dr. Geddes, who, although he himself was fond of dancing, complained to the author of this article, that his biblical labours had been interrupted by midnight revelry. This very circumstance, however, led to an acquaintance, if not an intimacy.

about this time also paid the debt of nature. The restraint of parental authority being thus entirely removed, he at length determined, fortunately for himself, to follow the bent of his inclination. On his return from the continent, he had thrown off, or at least suspended, the use of his academic degree, and having enrolled his name in the register of Lincoln's Inn, lately become the most *fashionable* of our four juridical institutions, he became duly qualified, on paying the customary fees, to eat his mutton during term time in that very hall where he was afterwards destined to read public lectures.

There was a question much agitated about this period, in the circle which Mr. Mackintosh, like the great English lexicographer, had drawn around him : this was, whether tillage or pasturage ought to be most encouraged in a free state ? And it was the decided opinion of the Laird of Kyllachy, that whatever directly supports men, ought to be preferred to what immediately supports cattle, and only incidentally tends to the sustenance of the human species. He feelingly lamented, that the Scottish peasantry should be obliged to emigrate to the Trans-atlantic continent in search of a country. He deprecated the idea of expatriating the little mountain farmers, for the express purpose of settling colonies of *black cattle* in their room ; and he longed for an opportunity of setting a better example before the eyes of the Caledonian land-owners. But in the mean time, while descanting on these philanthropic theories, his scanty patrimony, seated on the steep hills near to the source  
of

of the Findhorn, melted insensibly away. It was first mortgaged, then sold, and being unfortunately situate in a *weeping* climate, has submitted to the fate of the neighbouring lands in that elevated region, and is now employed solely, as we have been given to understand, in the rearing of cows and oxen.

In the mean time, an event occurred which tended in the end not only to give a new colour, but a new direction to the labours of Mr. Mackintosh. The circumstance to which we allude, was his marriage with Miss Stuart,\* of Gerard-street, Soho, in 1789, with whom, it is true, he obtained neither much beauty nor fortune ; but something infinitely better than either, nay, than both conjoined. In her he found not only a friend, but a monitor, who calmly and mildly pointed out to him the necessity of industry and œconomy ; two qualities for which he was not then very celebrated. She adjured him, by his love for her, his duty towards a numerous and increasing progeny, and his respect for his own reputation, to banish an inglorious indolence, and achieve something worthy of his talents. By language of this kind, in addition to unceasing solicitude and undiminished perseverance, she aroused at once his feelings and his pride ; and a most excellent opportunity was now

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\* This lady, by whom he had five children, was, like himself, a native of Scotland. The eldest of her three brothers, the late Mr. Charles Stuart, wrote several dramatic pieces, which were performed at the Haymarket. He, as well as the youngest, also composed several political pamphlets.

afforded by the publication of Mr. Burke's celebrated letter, to distinguish himself in that species of political and literary controversy for which his mind was so peculiarly adapted.

The author of the "Sublime and Beautiful," the most fluent orator perhaps in the House of Commons, and one of the greatest statesmen of his day, had thrown down the gauntlet, and defied all the advocates of liberty and France (for those *now* remote terms were *then* supposed proximate) to single combat. The lists were opened ; and whoever overcame him, was destined to receive the meed of fame, and be invested with the spoils of the vanquished hero. Even to contend with him, seemed to confer reputation ; and to retire without being overwhelmed beneath his blows, indicated no small degree of good fortune. The first who appeared in the field against this renowned champion of kings, was a handsome amazon, replete with zeal and activity, the late Mary Wolstonecraft, who seemed particularly desirous to have the *first blow*. Without mentioning her name, she approached the scene of action, and pelted the political St. Francis by means of a pamphlet. She was followed by Rous, Christie,\*

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\* ~~This~~ gentleman, who was author of a volume of letters on the Revolution of France, a work which he dedicated to Sir John Sinclair, at this period lived in great intimacy with the author of *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*. Happening to meet Mr. Paine one day, the latter exhibited a consciousness of his powers, which must be allowed to have *bordered upon* vanity : " Tell your friend Mack-

and a host of foes, who discharged duodecimos and octavos thick as grape shot ; until at length Mackintosh *slowly* entered the tilt-yard of Paternoster-Row, whence, with a happy admixture of skill and strength, he smote the champion of Chivalry, by means of 378 pages of letter-press, bound up in the shape of a modern volume, and hurled with all the dexterity wont to be employed in the management of the ancient discus. It was less meant to kill indeed, than to stun and confound ; and if it did not overcome the veteran warrior, whose armour was *proof*, yet such was its effect, that all his other adversaries for a while suspended the combat, while the spectators wondered what unknown youth had thus presumptuously dared to contend with a chief grown hoary under arms.

It may be now necessary to give some account of the production alluded to above, as it assuredly constituted the foundation of the future fame and fortune of the author. It was entitled, “ *Vindiciæ Gallicæ, or Defence of the French Revolution and its English Admirers, against the Accusations of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke ; including some Strictures on the late Production of Monsieur de Calonne.*” Mr.

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intosh,” said he, “ that if he does not make haste, my work against Burke will be published, after which nothing more on that subject will be read !”

Mr. Christie afterwards embarked in commercial speculations, and died a few years since in one of the Dutch colonies in the West Indies.

Mackintosh

Mackintosh had left town, and retired to Little Ealing, in Middlesex, where it was chiefly, if not wholly, composed. It was not written first, then viewed as *one whole*, corrected at leisure, and finally transmitted to the press. On the contrary, it was printed amidst the throes and agonies of daily parturition; in addition to which the author was obliged at times to accommodate his studies to the departure of the penny-post, the clamours of impatient compositors, and the eagerness of expectant printers' devils.

At length, it appeared on the 26th of April 1791, prefaced by an apologetical advertisement. "Had I foreseen," says the author, "the size to which the following volume was to grow, or the obstacles that were to retard its completion, I should probably have shrunk from the undertaking; and perhaps I may now be supposed to owe an apology for offering it to the public, after the able and masterly publications to which this controversy has given birth.

"Many parts of it bear internal marks of having been written some months ago, by allusions to circumstances which are now changed; but as they did not affect the reasoning, I was not solicitous to alter them.

"For the lateness of its appearance, I find a consolation in the knowledge, that respectable works on the same subject are still expected by the public; and the number of my fellow-labourers only suggest the reflection—that too many minds cannot be employed on a controversy so immense, as to present the most various aspects to different understandings, and so

important, that the more correct statement of one fact, or the more successful illustration of one argument, will at least rescue a book from the imputation of having been written in vain."

As the author observes in his well-penned introduction, that "analysis and method, like the discipline and arms of modern nations, correct in some measure the inequalities of controversial dexterity, and level in the intellectual field the giant and the dwarf," it may not be amiss in this place to recur to similar means.

In Section I. he treats of *the general expediency and necessity of a revolution in France*. This commences with a definition of the term *revolution*, which had been lately used in an ambiguous and equivocal sense. A review of the ancient constitution of France follows, and we are told that the downfall of the aristocracy happening to occur there before commerce had elevated any other class of citizens into importance, its power devolved on the crown.

"Posterior to the conclusion of the fifteenth century," says he, "the powers of the States-general had almost dwindled into formalities. Their momentary re-appearance under Henry III. and Louis XIII. served only to illustrate their insignificance. Their total disuse speedily succeeded.

"The intrusion of any popular voice was not likely to be tolerated in the reign of Louis XIV. a reign which has been so often celebrated as the zenith of warlike and literary splendour, but which has always appeared to me to be the consummation of  
whatever

whatever is afflicting and degrading in the history of the human race. Talent seemed, in that reign, robbed of the conscious elevation, of the erect and manly port, which is its noblest associate and its surest indication. The mild purity of Fenelon,\* the lofty spirit of Bossuet, the masculine mind of Boileau, the sublime fervor of Corneille, were confounded by the contagion of ignominious and indiscriminate servility. It seemed as if the 'representative majesty' of the genius and intellect of man, were prostrated before the shrine of a sanguinary and dissolute tyrant, who practised the corruption of courts without their mildness, and incurred the guilt of wars without their glory.

"His highest praise is to have supported the stage-trick of royalty with effect; and it is surely difficult to conceive any character more odious and despicable, than that of a puny libertine, who under the frown of a strumpet or a monk, issues the mandate that is to murder virtuous citizens, to desolate happy and peaceful hamlets, to wring agonizing tears from widows and orphans. Heroism has a splendour that almost atones for its excesses; but what shall we think of him who, from the luxurious and dastardly security in which he wallows at Versailles, issues with calm and cruel apathy his orders to butcher the protestants of Languedoc, or to lay in ashes the villages of the palatinate? On the recollection of past scenes,

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\* "And Cambray, worthy of a happier doom,  
The virtuous slave of Louis and of Rome."

as a scholar, I blush for the prostitution of letters: as a man, I blush for the patience of humanity."

It is allowed however, "that the profligate conquests" and "usurpations" of Louis XIV. eventually proved advantageous to the cause of humanity; while towards the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. "France, alike exhausted by the misfortunes of one war, and the victories of another, groaned under a weight of impost and debt, which it was equally difficult to remedy or to endure." The wise and benevolent Turgot foresaw and wished to avoid the storm; but the ambitious Vergennes, the rapacious Calonne, the feeble and irresolute Brienne, all contributed to the financial embarrassment, and at length the *deficit* amounted to 4,750,000*l.* per ann."

In this exigency, we are told, "there was no expedient left, but to guarantee the ruined credit of bankrupt despotism by the sanction of the national voice." The notables were accordingly convoked for this purpose, but they destroyed their creator; and the parliament of Paris, which "had usurped some share in the sovereignty," refused to register two edicts for the creation of imposts; they even averred that the power of imposing taxes was vested only in the national representatives, and they claimed the convocation of the States-general of the kingdom. After a rapid review of these leading causes, Mr. Mackintosh infers, with Hume, "that the actions of great bodies must be ever ascribed to general causes," and that the French revolution is not to be ascribed to any private conspiracy.

While

While Mr. Burke stigmatizes the troops as "base hireling deserters, who sold their king for an increase of pay," his opponent affirms, that these men, "whom posterity will celebrate for patriotic heroism," were actuated by the purest motives in "their noble disobedience." He observes, that the exchequer of a faction might have been equal to the corruption of the guards, but he asks, "what policy or fortune could pervade, by their agents or donations, an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, dispersed over so great a monarchy as France? No largesses could have seduced, no intrigues could have reached so vast and divided a body. The catastrophe was effected by sympathy with the national spirit."

The whole power of the state having devolved on the national assembly at the time of the Parisian revolt, and the defection of the army, this body, which had been convoked as an ordinary legislature, considered itself as transferred by these events into a national convention. Mr. Burke remarked, with some asperity, on the injustice of this *assumption*; and the author of the *Vindiciæ*, finding it difficult to give a decisive reply, recurs to arguments which might have sanctioned any species of tyranny; such as, "that great revolutions are too immense for technical formality," and that this was legalised "by the subsequent adherence of the people." He however very adroitly recurs to our own history, and instances the English convention of 1688, the members of which were not "even *legally* elected."

He next proceeds to justify the abolition of titles.

“ A titled nobility was equally unknown,” says the author, “ to the splendid monarchies of Asia, and the manly simplicity of the ancient commonwealths. It arose from the peculiar circumstances of modern Europe ; and yet its necessity is now erected on the basis of universal experience, as if those other renowned and polished states were effaced from the society of nations. ‘ Nobility is the Corinthian capital of polished states.’ The august fabric of society is deformed and encumbered by such Gothic ornaments. The massy Doric that sustains it is labour ; and the splendid variety of arts and talents that solace and embellish life, form the decorations of its Corinthian and Ionic capitals.”

He next inquires whether the lands occupied by the church are the property of its members ; and after observing, “ that judges are *paid* for the distribution of justice, kings for the execution of the laws, soldiers (where there is a mercenary army) for public defence, and priests (where there is an established religion) for public instruction,” he affirms, “ that a territorial pension is no more sacred than a pecuniary one,” and the clergy no more the proprietors of the land out of which they receive their salary, than the other servants of the state are of that portion of the revenue from which they are paid. He adds, in a note (page 99), that “ church power, unless some revolution auspicious to priestcraft should replunge Europe in ignorance, will certainly not survive the nineteenth century.”

Still better reasons, he thinks, may be adduced  
for

for the abolition of the judicial aristocracy, than the resumption of the lands of the church; as the corporation spirit was more concentrated and vigorous in them than in the nobles and clergy, and “a free people could not form its tribunals of men who pretended to any control on the legislature”

In fine, the three aristocracies, military, sacerdotal, and judicial, which formed the old French government, are considered “as incorrigible,” and could not be *gradually reformed*, “as these institutions would have destroyed liberty before liberty had corrected their spirit.”

The next section is occupied with the composition and character of the National Assembly, and contains a masterly answer to many of the objections of his celebrated antagonist. In reply to the reproaches, that no vestige of the landed interest appeared in the representation, he remarks that the reason was obvious; “because the nobility of France, like the gentry of England, formed almost exclusively the landed interest of the kingdom;” and the lawyers, physicians, merchants, men of letters, tradesmen and farmers, could therefore alone furnish representatives to the *Tiers-Etat*. “Their pretended incapacity for political affairs,” adds he, “is an arrogant fiction of statesmen, which the history of revolutions has ever belied. These emergencies have never failed to create politicians. The subtle counsellors of Philip II. were baffled by the burgomasters of Amsterdam and Leyden. The oppression of England summoned into existence a race of statesmen  
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in her colonies. The lawyers of Boston, and the planters of Virginia, were transformed into ministers and negotiators, who proved themselves inferior neither in wisdom as legislators, nor in dexterity as politicians. These facts evince, that the powers of mankind have been unjustly depreciated, the difficulty of political affairs artfully managed, and that there exists a quantity of latent *talent* among men, which ever rises to the level of the great occasions that call it forth." Nor does he omit to notice a gross mistatement on the part of Mr. Burke, who by way of bolstering up a feeble argument, had recourse to mis-translation : and in order to degrade a portion of the members, instead of provincial advocates and rectors, termed them *country attorneys and curates*.

Mr. Mackintosh's panegyric on *assignats*, on the other hand, appears very extraordinary at this moment. In section III. too, the exclamation in favour of the flourishing state of trade in France,\* however it might have served the purposes of the day, now appears strangely misplaced !

Some portion of the work too contains opinions, which perhaps his *riper* judgment would be disposed to disavow. He considers it as susceptible

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\* " The manufacturers at Lyons, the merchants of Bourdeaux and Marseilles, are silent amidst the lamentations of the Abbé Maury, M. Calonne, and Mr. Burke. *Happy is the people whose commerce flourishes in ledgers, while it is bewailed in orations, and remains untouched in calculation, while it expires in the pictures of eloquence.*"

of proof, "that governments of balance and control have never existed but in the vision of theorists. The fairest example," adds he, "will be the constitution of England. If it can be proved that the two members of the legislature, who are pretended to control each other, are ruled by the same class of men, the control must be granted to be imaginary. That opposition of interest, which is supposed to preclude all conspiracy against the people, can no longer exist. That this is the state of England, the most superficial observation must evince. The great proprietors, titled and untitled, possess the whole force of both houses of Parliament that is not immediately dependant on the Crown. The Peers have a great influence in the House of Commons. All political parties are formed by a confederacy of the members of both houses: the court party, by the influence of the crown, acting equally in both, supported by a part of the independent aristocracy; the opposition by the remainder of the aristocracy, whether commoners or lords. Here is every symptom of collusion: no vestige of control. The only case indeed where it could arise, is where the interest of the peerage is distinct from that of the other great proprietors. But these separate interests are few and paltry, and have established so feeble a check, that the history of England will not afford one undisputed example of this vaunted control.

"The rejection of the peerage bill of George the First is urged with great triumph by De Lolme. There it seems the Commons rejected the bill, purely actuated

actuated by their fears, that the aristocracy would acquire a strength from a limitation on the number of peers, destructive of that balance of power which forms the constitution. It is unfortunate that political theorists do not consult the *history* as well as the *letter* of legislative proceedings. It is a matter of perfect notoriety, that the rejection of that bill was occasioned by the secession of Sir Robert (then Mr.) Walpole from the cabinet, and the opposition of him and his party to it was merely as a ministerial measure. The debate was not guided by any general legislative principles : it was simply an experiment on the strength of two parties contending for power. The reader will, no doubt, feel a high reverence for the constitutional principles of that parliament, when he is informed that to it we owe the Septennial act !”

Soon after this (p. 336) he quotes Mr. Burke’s former definition of the true end of *legislation*, and asks, “ who can, without indignation, hear the House of Commons of England called a popular representation? A more insolent and preposterous abuse of language is not to be found in the vocabulary of tyrants. The criterion that distinguishes *laws* from *dictates*, freedom from servitude, rightful government from usurpation, *the law being an expression of the general will, is wanting.*

“ We are boldly challenged to produce our proofs ; our complaints are asserted to be chimerical, and the excellence of our government is inferred from its beneficial effects. Most unfortunately for us, most unfortunately

unately for our country, these proofs are too ready and too numerous. We find them in that 'monumental debt,' the bequest of wasteful and profligate wars, which already wrings from the peasant something of his hard-earned pittance; which already has punished the industry of the useful and upright manufacturer, by robbing him of the asylum of his house, and the judgment of his peers; to which the madness of political Quixotism adds a million for every farthing that the pomp of ministerial empiricism pays; and which menaces our children with convulsions and calamities, of which no age has seen the parallel. We find them in the black and bloody roll of persecuting statutes that are still suffered to stain our code; a list so execrable, that were no monument to be preserved of what England was in the eighteenth century but her statute book, she might be deemed still plunged into the deepest gloom of superstitious barbarism. We find them in the ignominious exclusion of great bodies of our fellow-citizens from political trusts, by tests which reward falsehood and punish probity, which profane the rights of the religion they pretend to guard, and usurp the dominion of the god they profess to revere. We find them in the growing corruption of those who administer the government—in the venality of a House of Commons which has become only a cumbrous and expensive chamber for registering ministerial edicts—in the increase of a nobility arrived to a degradation, by the profusion and prostitution of honours which the most zealous partizans of democracy would have spared

spared them. We find them, above all, in the rapid progress which has been made to silence the great organ of public opinion, the Press, which is the true control on ministers and parliaments; who might else, with impunity, trample on the impotent formalities that form the pretended bulwark of our freedom. The mutual control, the well-poised balance of the several members of our legislature, are the visions of theoretical, or the pretext of practical politicians. It is a government, not of check, but of conspiracy—a conspiracy which can only be repressed by the energy of popular opinion.”

In justice to the author, however, he is of opinion that the “grievances of England did not *then* justify a change by violence; but they are in a rapid progress,” adds he, “to that fatal state, in which they will both justify and produce it. It is because we sincerely love tranquil freedom, that we earnestly deprecate the moment when virtue and honour shall compel us to seek her with our swords.”

On reading this passage, some of the former admirers of the present Recorder of Bombay, will doubtless be inclined to exclaim, “*Quantum mutatus ab illo,*” &c.

As Mr. Mackintosh’s was a name *unknown* before the publication of this work, we believe he at first found some difficulty in respect to the sale of it—yet however surprising it may appear to those unacquainted with the mysteries of the press, it was actually sold, not only before it was printed, but even anterior to its being written. Certain it is, that the sum originally

nally agreed to be given, was but trifling ; and it is also equally true, that the publisher, with a liberality which it is to be hoped will not be considered as *uncommon*, in consequence of the benefit derived by its rapid circulation, presented the author with triple the original price. At the end of four months the two first editions were sold, and a third appeared on the 28th of August 1791, in which, after observing that “ of literary criticism” it did not become him to question the justice, he adds, that he felt it due to himself to notice “ moral animadversion.” He also complains “ that the vulgar clamour which had been raised with such malignant art against the friends of freedom, as the apostles of turbulence and sedition, had not even spared the obscurity of *his* name.”

While the success of this work consoled him for his exertions, the masterly manner in which the subject was handled, obtained for him the acquaintance of many of the most distinguished leaders of opposition ; and proved, in many points of view, serviceable. He was accordingly introduced to Sheridan, who finds means to unite wit with eloquence ; to Grey, who had already acquired great reputation by his argumentative speeches ; to Whitbread, who had not as yet matured those talents for which he has so recently rendered himself conspicuous ; to Fox, then in the meridian of his splendour ; and to the late Duke of Bedford, whose abilities were only equalled by his munificence, and whose heart and purse were alike open to his friends. Even anterior

to the publication of his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, the fervour of his patriotism, and the ardour of his sentiments, had made Mr. Mackintosh known to several gentlemen less illustrious in respect to splendour of talents, than the constellation of *oppositionists* alluded to above, but no less desirous of serving him. These qualities, among several others, had endeared him to the late Mr. Brand Hollis, whose library and whose table were alike open to him; in the former of which he found and was indebted to the works of Milton, Sydney, and Locke, while at the latter, in conjunction with men of nearly one *political faith*, he was enabled to contemplate every possible shade of religious belief in the persons and writings of Dr. Towers, Mr. Godwin, Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, and, if we are not misinformed, Mr. Thomas Paine.

In the mean time, Mr. Mackintosh was called to the bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and began to practise; but whether it was that his turn of mind and cast of studies were not calculated either for trials at *Nisi Prius*, or the discussion of dry juridical questions "before our sovereign Lord the King at Westminster, and so forth;" certain it is, that although a junior council of great promise, he was not at that period attended by a "turba clientium;" nor indeed was he accustomed, like Cicero, to rise by break of day, and order his hall-doors to be opened for the entrance of those who came to solicit his advice.

His family too, and his expences, were gradually increasing; for he aspired to give dinners to some of  
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the heads of the minority; and as he never was an economist, he of course became involved in difficulties. Yet even then his mind, notwithstanding these distressing embarrassments, could find time to unbend itself by literary criticism, so as to compose an essay, or write a few columns in a review.

But an event occurred about this period, which gave a new and sudden turn to his pursuits, and finally created a great alteration in his opinions and fortune. A gentleman known to Mr. Burke, and who had written on the same side of the question, being either actuated by ambition or goaded on by necessity, was extremely desirous of occupying an office under government; and the author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* made his case known in a long and elegant letter to a man who had amply provided for himself, and whose protection was readily extended to any of his friends. The late controversy had not been carried on with the rancour of a theologian; for Mr. Mackintosh, while he treated M. Calonne as "exhibiting to the eyes of indignant Europe the spectacle of an exiled robber living in the most splendid impunity," paid many compliments "to Mr. Burke's talents, as well as his virtuous and venerable age," and a correspondence having taken place, an interview soon after succeeded. This occurred at Beaconsfield, where after enjoying for some time the *Noctes cœnæque Deorum*, Mr. Mackintosh returned to town, and frankly owned to his particular friends, that he was a convert to the arguments of his quondam antagonist.

This event, which must be allowed to have been singular in the extreme, was productive of much vulgar abuse. Those unacquainted with the temper, character, and feelings of Mr. Mackintosh, were struck with the suddenness of the conversion ; some augured the speedy acquisition of riches and honours ; others foretold a seat in parliament and a pension ; and the most candid attributed the change to some hidden but interested motive. The author of the *Vindiciæ*, indeed, was not rich ; and even had he been seduced by the love of wealth, he might have exhibited a very forcible *apology* in a large family, destitute of any permanent support. It is difficult, indeed, to trace the secret springs of action, but perhaps both Mr. Burke and Mr. Mackintosh had only returned to *first principles*.

It is a well-known fact, that the former of these gentlemen commenced his literary career by an attack on Dr. Lucas, who had generously stepped forward as the advocate of the liberties and independence of his native country. The patronage of the marquis of Rockingham, a seat in parliament, and a close connexion with the leaders of the opposition, engaged a mind naturally fervid, in a zealous defence of those very truths which he had before attacked ; and we find him who had attempted to ridicule patriotism as connected with Ireland, zealous for the rights, franchises, and liberties, of America. A new epoch occurs in Europe ; France affects to be free also ; and the man who had so often fought the  
battles

battles of the revolted colonies in the British parliament, becomes nearly frantic in his zeal against such "audacious novelties."

Mr. Mackintosh also, during his youth, had doubtless imbibed the same principles that are infused with the maternal milk in the northern highlands; for as Wilkes once very justly observed, "*liberty is a mountain nymph, every where but in Scotland.*"\* On his removal to England, a new scene opened to his mind, and he for a while was attracted by the *meteor* of the French revolution; yet after having attained "early eminence," he too, perhaps, was at length content "to repose in his first creed." But unlike the generality of *new converts*, his zeal was neither bitter nor vindictive; and the habitual mildness of his manners, with *a single exception*, which will be pointed out hereafter, never seems to have forsook him.

The author of the *Vindiciæ* does not appear to have reaped any direct or immediate benefit from the new path he had entered in politics; whether it was the right or the wrong road, it did not seem to lead either to the Treasury or St. Stephen's Chapel; and it may be questioned, even taking the subject in a *commercial and pecuniary* point of view, whether upon the whole he has not lost more than he has gained by any change in politics. He beheld one great man

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\* This English patriot, who was accused of tergiversation towards the latter part of his career, appears upon this occasion to have *squinted* at the following couplet in Milton's *L'Allegro*:

"And in thy right hand lead with thee  
The *mountain nymph*, sweet Liberty."

obtain pensions and rewards to the amount of near thirty thousand pounds, in consequence of the part he had taken ; another, who had professed similar sentiments, was at that moment at the head of a great department in the state ; while a third, once the boldest advocate for democratical reforms, had also changed his original creed, and seemed fated “ to ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm.”

But Mr. Mackintosh, on the contrary, did not even acquire a *silk* gown, or a Welsh *judgeship*, which is in English jurisprudence somewhat like a popish bishopric *in partibus*. For his immediate support, he was obliged to recur to a course of subscription lectures, and was actually refused the hall of the society to which he appertained, for their delivery. On this occasion he applied officially to Mr. Pitt, who is a bencher, and received a very flattering letter in return. This however proved of little avail ; and the old gentlemen at the *upper end of the table*, who it is to be hoped were better acquainted with the mysteries of law than of politics, absolutely refused to convert their immaculate apartment into an *arena* of jacobinism. But the late Lord Loughborough, with some influence and even authority, in his capacity as chancellor, interfered ; and the hinges of the folding-doors were immediately oiled for the admission of the young professor, and a multitude of right honourable and honourable auditors.

But while every one was loud in the praise of the Orator, an absent gentleman, more than once alluded to, deemed himself injured, and thought he had a  
right

right to complain. This was Mr. Godwin, a man of letters, the former friend and associate of the lecturer, and once a fellow-labourer in the same vineyard. He was excommunicated it seems *ex cathedra*, not however on account of his political but his theological errors! This reminds us of John Calvin, a man originally very free in his own opinions, yet who after he had obtained a little power and celebrity, took a fancy to *roast* his old friend Servetus, under the pretence of heresy!

But we are now called upon to avert our thoughts from this to a very different subject. About this period Mr. Mackintosh experienced a severe loss, by the death of his wife—a woman endeared to him not only as the mother of his children, and the partner of his heart—not only as a tender friend to whom he could freely unbosom himself, and from whom he might at all times receive consolation,—but as a faithful counsellor, who urged him on to virtue, and warned him equally against an indolence which had become in some degree constitutional, and errors springing chiefly from neglect, and which were therefore only temporary and occasional.

It was imagined by some, that he had now determined to confine himself in future to the didactic branches of his profession, and wholly abandon all his forensic avocations; but this was not the case. for on the occurrence of the general election in 1802, he was retained as counsel in several controverted cases, and acquitted himself ably before committees of the House of Commons.

Soon after this a very fair opportunity was also afforded for distinguishing himself, in the case of Mr. Peltier, a French journalist, residing in London, who was tried in the court of king's bench on the 21st of February 1803, at the suit of the King, for a libel against Napoleon Buonaparte, then First Consul of the French republic.

After a speech from the Attorney-general, and the examination of witnesses, the advocate for the defendant remarked, that a very arduous duty had been thrown upon him, "which he could not decline and still less betray." He then represented his client as a royalist, who fled from his native country in the autumn of 1792, and who was editor of the "Ambigu," the "only, or almost the only, journal which still dares to espouse the cause of that illustrious family, which but fourteen years ago was flattered by every press, and guarded by every tribunal, in Europe."

Having then descanted on the power of the first magistrate of France, who had applied for the expulsion of Mr. Peltier from England, he added: "I consider this case as the first of a long series of conflicts between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press now remaining in Europe." This led him to animadvert on the state of the press in Holland, Switzerland, and the imperial free cities of Germany, anterior to the desolating progress of recent events.

"These feeble states," said he, "these monuments of the justice of Europe, the asylum of peace, of industry, and of literature, the organs of public  
reason,

reason, the refuge of oppressed innocence and persecuted truth, have perished with those ancient principles which were their sole guardians and protectors. They have been swallowed up by that fearful convulsion which has shaken the utmost corners of the earth. They are destroyed and gone for ever.

“ One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society, where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and the most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen; and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire. It is an awful consideration, gentlemen. Every other monument of European liberty has perished—that ancient fabric which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our fathers still stands—it stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire; but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins.”

After this Mr. Mackintosh entered into a discussion relative to the offence with which his client was charged, and observed, “ that those who slowly built up the fabric of our laws never attempted any thing so absurd as to define by any precise rule the obscure and shifting boundaries which divide libel from history or discussion, as the same words may be perfectly innocent in one case and mischievous in an-

other. The principles in this case were few and simple; for every publication which is intended to vilify either our own government, or the government of any foreign state in amity with this kingdom, is by the law of England a libel. To protect the liberty of political discussion, however, our ancestors trusted to an administration of justice habitually mild; to the moderation of the legal officers of the crown, educated in the maxims and imbued with the spirit of a free government, controuled by the superintending power of parliament, and peculiarly watched in all political prosecutions by the reasonable and wholesome jealousy of their fellow-subjects. But above all, they confided in the moderation and good sense of juries, popular in their origin, popular in their feelings, popular in their very prejudices; taken from the mass of the people, and immediately returning to that mass again.

“By these checks and temperaments,” added he, “they hoped that they should sufficiently repress malignant libels, without endangering that freedom of inquiry which is the first security of a free state. They knew that the offence of a political libel is of a very peculiar nature, and differing in the most important particulars from all other crimes.

“In all other cases the most severe execution of law can only spread terror among the guilty, but in political libels it inspires even the innocent with fears. This striking peculiarity arises from the same circumstances, which make it impossible to define the limits of libel and innocent discussion; which  
make

make it impossible for a man of the purest and most honourable mind to be always perfectly certain whether he be within the territory of fair argument and honest narrative, or whether he may not have unwittingly overstepped the faint and varying line which bounds them. But, gentlemen, I will go further: where severe and frequent punishments not only intimidate the innocent, but deter individuals from the most meritorious acts, and from rendering the most important services to their country, they indispose and disqualify men for the discharge of the most sacred duties which they owe to mankind. To inform the public on the conduct of those who administer public affairs, requires courage and conscious security. It is always an invidious and obnoxious office, but it is often the most necessary of all public duties. If it is not done boldly, it cannot be done effectually; and it is not from writers trembling under the uplifted scourge that we are to hope for it."

The advocate of Mr. Peltier here entered into a dissertation on the advantages resulting from the liberty of the press; and observed, that although in domestic dissensions it might sometimes be supposed to be the interest of the government to overawe it, when the danger is purely foreign, "a king of England who in such circumstances should conspire against the free press of his country, would undermine the foundations of his own throne; he would silence the trumpet which is to call his people around his standard."

After this he observed, that the Attorney-general  
admitted

admitted historical composition to be exempt from a prosecution of this kind ; and he contended that by a fair extension of this principle he must admit *re-publishing historically* a circumstance that included the present case, which was an Ode \* ascribed to Chenier or Ginguené. The intention of the original author might indeed be deemed libellous, but the intention of the compiler “ is merely to gratify curiosity, or perhaps to rouse just indignation against the calumniator whose production he republishes.

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\* Here follow the two passages supposed to constitute the libel in question: the first is from an Ode attributed to Chenier, but now said to be written by the brother of Carnot, the director ; the second from some verses, entitled “ Vœu d'un bon Patriote au 14 Juillet 1802 :”

## I.

“ De la France à honte éternelle !  
 César, au bord du Rubicon,  
 A contre lui, dans sa querelle,  
 Le Sénat, Pompée & Caton ;  
 Et dans les plaines de Pharsale,  
 Si la fortune est inégale,  
 S'il te faut céder aux destins ;  
 Rome, dans ce revers funeste,  
 Pour te venger au moins il reste  
 Un poignard aux derniers Romains.”

## II.

“ Pour moi, loin qu'à son sort je porte quelqu' envie,  
 Qu'il nomme, j'y consens, son digne *successeur*,  
 Sur le pavois porté, qu'on l'élise *empereur* !  
 Enfin, & Romulus nous rappelle la chose,  
 Je fais vœu...dès demain qu'il ait l'apothéose !

AMEN.”

His

His intention is not libellous, his republication is therefore not a libel. Suppose this to be the case with Mr. Peltier. Suppose him to have republished libels with a merely historical intention. In that case it cannot be pretended that he is more a libeller than my learned friend Mr. Abbot, who read these supposed libels to you when he opened the pleadings."

Mr. Mackintosh then alluded to a similar case that had lately occurred, in consequence of the *republication* of the Report of Colonel Sebastiani, in which General Stuart was accused with writing letters to procure assassination. He also alluded to a libel against the king and people of England, which had been translated from the *Moniteur* into the English papers; "a libel against a prince who had passed through a factious and stormy reign of forty-three years without a single imputation on his personal character; against a people who have passed through the severest trials of national virtue with unimpaired glory; who alone in the world can boast of mutinies without murder, of triumphant mobs without massacre, of bloodless revolutions, and of civil wars unstained by a single assassination: that most impudent and malignant libel, which charges such a king of such a people not only with having hired assassins, but with being so shameless, so lost to all sense of character, as to have bestowed on these assassins, if their murderous projects had succeeded, the highest badges of public honour, the reward reserved

served for statesmen and heroes—the order of the garter; the order which was founded by the heroes of Cressy and Poitiers—the garter which was worn by Henry the Great and by Gustavus Adolphus; which might now be worn by the hero who on the shores of Syria, the ancient theatre of English chivalry, has revived the renown of English valour and of English humanity—that unsullied garter, which a detestable libeller dares to say is to be paid as the price of murder.”

Towards the conclusion Mr. Mackintosh was led by his subject to a consideration of the French revolution, the partition of Poland, and the origin of periodical publications in England. He quoted two instances of the intrepidity of English juries in the case of Lilburne, demanded a favourable construction of what could not be said to be more than “ambiguous language,” and finished by observing, that in case of an event similar to what had occurred in France we ought to carry with us “into our sad exile, the consolation that we ourselves have not violated the rights of hospitality to exiles; that we have not torn from the altar the suppliant who claimed protection as the voluntary victim of loyalty and conscience.”

The speech, of which the above is a mere outline, has been generally praised as a fine specimen of the eloquence of the bar, and we allow that it abounds with many admirable passages and elegant allusions; but on the other hand, instead of the defence

defence\* of a prisoner, it has all the appearance of being a *political homily*, in which the opinions of the speaker are detailed at full length, and that too in a manner not always *relevant* to the subject under consideration. But as the defendant was at once flattered and satisfied, and was even fortunate enough by a sudden change in the political horizon to escape from all manner of punishment, no one else has perhaps a right to animadvert on the manner in which his cause was conducted. Nor would it be candid here to omit that it excited the warmest commendations both from the Chief Justice and the Attorney-general, who themselves had received many compliments on this occasion.

At the commencement of the present war he who had wielded his pen in behalf of republican France, now very consistently brandished his sword against France prostrate at the foot of a tyrant, for he was *elected* a Captain in the regiment of *Loyal North*

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\* The defence of Mr. Peltier appears to have been strictly bounded by the fact of publication, the *quo animo* or intention of the publisher, and the application of the text to the person supposed to be designated.

The first of these was proved by Mr. De Boffe, the bookseller; as to the second, it respected the *malice* of the writer, which must be allowed to have been pretty evident, provided the *wish* for assassination was brought home to the defendant. Of the two passages adduced for that purpose, one however appears to have been very ambiguous, and this was insisted upon; but it seems to have been forgotten that the threat in the other was *hypothetical*, it being merely conditional, in case the First Consul should usurp the diadem.

*Eritons.*

*Britons.* Some time before this (in 1798) he had married one of the daughters of Captain Allen, of Cressella in Pembrokeshire, and a second race of children began to spring up under his eyes; yet still nothing had been obtained, while fortune daily descended on men of inferior talents and accomplishments in a golden shower. He had some practice it is true, and he might have earned a considerable sum of money in the shape of fees; but when a numerous family are to be clothed, fed, and educated, out of the contents of a *brief-bag*, the dread of a bad term, a fit of illness, or the long vacation, are apt to be intermingled with the paternal feelings, and may sometimes disturb the slumbers of a man not endued with stoical insensibility.

At length however an opportunity offered for Mr. Mackintosh, not to enrich—but to expatriate himself in an honourable manner, and with a revenue that may appear ample to those unacquainted with the wants of an Englishman in the East. He accordingly accepted the Recordship of Bombay, and the official title of knighthood annexed to it; but not without reluctance. We question indeed if the banishment of Ovid by Augustus was more terrible to the poet, than the trans-pacific voyage in question to the metaphysician: the island of Bombay was to the full as terrible as Pontus.

We are happy, notwithstanding “the longing, lingering look behind,” to find Sir James Mackintosh acting in a manner worthy of his character in the East, by being one of the founders as well as vice-president

president of a literary society;\* and trust that the example of the late Sir William Jones, who interposed on all occasions in favour of the unhappy natives, will ever be kept in view by him. That great and good man manfully decided against the introduction of slavery into that portion of the British empire; and we rejoice to see the subject of this memoir enquiring into the causes, and endeavouring to obviate the horrors, of a famine, “which no man can truly represent to the European public without the hazard of being charged with extravagant and incredible fiction.”†

\* This originated November 26, 1804, at Bombay, and its express object is for the promoting of useful knowledge connected with India.

† Address to the Grand Jury of Bombay, October 11, 1804, by Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder.

“Gentlemen of the Grand Jury: I heartily congratulate you on the small number of crimes which have occurred in our little community since I had last the honour of addressing you, and of that small number I do not observe that there are any respecting which you can need that legal information from me which I shall always be ready to communicate.

“I might therefore have suffered you to proceed to the discharge of your duty without farther interruption, if I had not thought it important to the interest of humanity to embrace this opportunity of making public some facts, of such a nature that it seemed to me fit to promulgate them in the most authentic form, and on the most solemn occasion known among us.

“When we are assembled to administer criminal justice, to perform the highest and most invidious, though most necessary, functions of political authority, it is consolatory to reflect, and it cannot be unbecoming to observe, that the more pleasing duties of  
bounty

The writer of this article has freely praised the talents of Sir James Mackintosh while absent ; he

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bounty and charity have not been forgotten, and that the British government of this territory is as forward to relieve the miseries as to punish the crimes of its subjects.

“ You must already have perceived that I am about to speak of the successful exertions which have been made to avert the calamities of famine from our own dominions, and to alleviate the sufferings of those wretched emigrants who have sought refuge among us from the famine which has laid waste the neighbouring continent.

“ What the causes are which in all ages seem to have rendered famine so frequent and so peculiarly severe in India, is a question of great curiosity, and indeed of great practical importance, but not very fit to be examined in this place, and to which I have not yet the means of giving a satisfactory answer. One general observation however I will venture to make. The same unfortunate state of things existed among our ancestors in Europe four or five centuries ago. The same unfavourable seasons which now only produce scarcity, then almost uniformly produced famine. Various causes have doubtless contributed to the great and happy change which has since taken place ; all of them connected with the progress of European nations in the arts, institutions, and manners of civilized life ; but the principal cause is, beyond all doubt, commerce : for only one of two expedients against dearth can be imagined ; either we must consume less food, or we must procure more ; and in general both must be combined ; we must have recourse both to retrenchment and importation. Both these purposes are effected by commerce. The home trade in grain reduces consumption ; and this it does by that very operation of enhancing its price, which excites so much clamour among the vulgar of all ranks : and the foreign trade in grain makes the abundance of one country supply the wants of another. Thus famine is banished from what may properly be called the commercial world. So powerful and so beneficial are the energies of that great civilizing principle of commerce, which, counteracted as it  
every

perhaps would have been still more ready than he now is "to hesitate dislike," had he been present.

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every where is by the stupid prejudices of the people, and by the absurd and mischievous interference of governments, has yet accomplished so great a revolution in the condition of so large a part of mankind as totally to exempt them from the dread of the greatest calamity which afflicted their ancestors. Whether commerce could effect so great a change in India I shall not undertake to determine. Perhaps there are physical difficulties which are insuperable, and others arising from the condition and habits of the people which would be extremely difficult to overcome. These certainly are circumstances which must diminish and retard such a beneficial change.

"But to return from generalities, in which I ought not perhaps to have dwelt so long. You are well aware, that, from a partial failure of the periodical rains in 1802, and from a more complete failure in 1803, a famine has arisen in the adjoining provinces of India, especially in the territories of the Peishwa, which I shall not attempt to describe, and which, I believe, no man can truly represent to the European public without the hazard of being charged with extravagant and incredible fiction. Some of you have seen its ravages; all of you have heard accounts of them from accurate observers. I have only seen the fugitives who have fled before it, and who have found an asylum in this island. But even I have seen enough to be convinced that it is difficult to overcharge a picture of Indian desolation.

"I shall now state to you, from authentic documents, what has been done to save these territories from the miserable condition of the neighbouring country. From the 1st of September 1803 to the present time there have been imported or purchased by government four hundred and fourteen thousand bags of rice, and there remain one hundred and eighty thousand bags contracted for, which are yet to arrive, forming an aggregate of nearly six hundred thousand bags, and amounting to the value of fifty lacks of rupees, or six hundred thousand pounds sterling. During the  
1805-1806. S same

The life of this accomplished gentleman is capable of furnishing much food for public curiosity and

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same time there have been imported by private merchants four hundred and eight thousand bags of rice, making in all an importation of a million of bags, and amounting in value to one million pounds sterling.

“ The effects of this importation on the population of our own territories it is not very difficult to estimate. The population of the islands of Bombay, Salsette, and Caranja, and of the city of Surat, I designedly under-estimate at four hundred thousand. I am entitled to presume that if they had continued subject to native governments they would have shared the fate of the neighbouring provinces which are still so subject. I shall not be suspected of any tendency towards exaggeration by any man who is acquainted with the state of the opposite continent when I say, that in such a case an eighth of that population must have perished. Fifty thousand human beings have therefore been saved from death in its most miserable form by the existence of a British government in this island. I conceive myself entitled to take credit for the whole benefits of the importation, for that which was imported by private merchants as well as for that which was directly imported by the government, because, without the protection and security enjoyed under a British government, that commercial capital and credit would not have existed by which the private importation was effected.

“ The next particular which I have to state relates to those unhappy refugees who have found their way into our territory. From the month of March to the present time such of them as could labour have been employed in useful public works, and have been fed by government. The monthly average of these persons since March is nine thousand one hundred and twenty-five in Bombay, three thousand one hundred and sixty-two in Salsette, and in Surat a considerable number; though from that city I have seen no exact returns.

“ But many of these miserable beings are on their arrival here wholly unable to earn their subsistence by any, even the most moderate,

instruction, and we hope that the promise of his favourite author Cicero may some day be realised in respect to himself :

“ *Scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo, & clarorum virorum.*”

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derate, labour. They expire in the road before they can be discovered by the agents of our charity. They expire in the very act of being carried to the place where they are to receive relief. To obviate, or at least to mitigate, these dreadful evils, a Humane Hospital was established by government for the relief of those emigrants who were unable to labour. The monthly average of those who have been received since March into this hospital is one thousand and thirty in Bombay, about an hundred in Salsette, and probably three hundred at Surat.

“ I myself visited this hospital, in company with my excellent friend Dr. Scott, and I witnessed a scene of which the impression will never be effaced from my mind. The average monthly mortality of the establishment is dreadful ; it amounts to four hundred and eighty. At first sight this would seem to argue some monstrous defects in the plan or management of the institution. And if there were great defects in so new an establishment, hastily provided against so unexampled an evil, those who are accustomed to make due allowance for human frailty would find more to lament than to blame in such defects. But when it is considered that almost all these deaths occur in the first four or five days after admission, and that scarcely any disease has been observed among the patients but the direct effects of famine, we shall probably view the mortality as a proof of the deplorable state of the patients rather than of any defects in the hospital ; and instead of making the hospital answerable for the deaths, we shall deem it entitled to credit for the life of every single survivor.

“ Those who know me will need no assurances that I have not made these observations from a motive so unworthy of my station and my character as that of paying court to any government. I am actuated by far other motives. I believe that knowledge on subjects

so important cannot be too widely promulgated. I believe, if every government on earth were bound to give an annual account before an audience whom they respected, and who knew the facts, of what they had done during the year for improving the condition of their subjects, that this single and apparently slight circumstance would better the situation of all mankind; and I am desirous, if any British government in India should ever, in similar calamitous circumstances, forget its most important and sacred duties, that this example should be recorded for their reproach and disgrace.

“ Upon the whole, I am sure that I considerably understate the fact in saying that the British government in this island has saved the lives of one hundred thousand persons; and, what is more important, that it has prevented the greater part of the misery through which they must have passed before they found refuge in death, besides the misery of all those who loved them, or who depended upon their care.

“ The existence, therefore, of a British government in Bombay in 1804 has been a blessing to its subjects. Would to God, that every government of the world could with truth make a similar declaration !

“ Many of you have been, and many will be, entrusted with authority over multitudes of your fellow-creatures. Your means of doing good will not indeed be so great as those of which I have now described to you the employment and the effect. But they will be considerable. Let me hope that every one of you will be ambitious to be able to say to your own conscience, I have done something to better the condition of the people entrusted to my care. I take the liberty to assure you, that you will not find such reflections among the least agreeable or valuable part of that store which you lay up for your declining years.”

## THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES ABBOT,

REPRESENTATIVE FOR WOODSTOCK, OXFORDSHIRE,  
AND SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE attainment of eminence usually pre-supposes the existence of merit, and certain high situations in a peculiar manner excite, if they do not actually create, talents. But this observation is in some respects unnecessary, in respect to those who are called upon by the general voice to preside over great assemblies; for their abilities, as well as their integrity, must have been previously ascertained; and it is not a little remarkable, that scarcely any man who ever enjoyed, or rather *suffered*, the painful pre-eminence attached to the chair of an English House of Commons, proved unworthy of his station. In our own times, we have witnessed the dignified demeanour of an Onslow, the spirited behaviour of a Norton, and the conciliating manners of an Addington; while the professional knowledge, joined to the distinguished impartiality of an Abbot, reflect new lustre on the first representative assembly in the universe.

Mr. Abbot was born about the year 1755. At an early period of life, he was sent to Westminster school, where he soon distinguished himself in such a manner as, in addition to considerable industry, to afford the promise of future excellence. The late Empress of Russia at that period attracted the attention of all Europe; and the juvenile student,

dazzled by the blaze of glory with which Catharine was surrounded, addressed some Latin verses to her imperial majesty, who in return presented him with a gold medal, by means of her ambassador at the court of St. James's.

He was afterwards sent to Oxford, and *matriculated* a member of Christ Church, which has produced many great men, and where he was noticed on account of his intrinsic merit. He took a degree there: and his picture in his robes as speaker at this moment decorates the hall of his *alma mater*, having been placed in 1804 among the worthies of his college.

When he came of age, Mr. Abbot found himself in possession of a considerable fortune. Notwithstanding this, he entered himself of one of the inns of court, and being designed for the chancery bar, attended the chambers of an eminent practitioner. After the usual preliminary forms, he was at length called by the society, on the rolls of which he had been admitted, to what is technically termed, the degree of an *utter barrister*. Thus qualified, he went the circuits in the usual manner, and as we have been informed, acted as junior counsel to Mr. Erskine on the celebrated trial\* of the Dean

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\* This was for a supposed libel originating with the celebrated Sir William Jones, afterwards judge in India, which, at the instance of the Dean, his brother-in-law, had been translated into Welsh. It merely asserted, in a dialogue between a gentleman and a peasant, that every protestant English subject had a right to the use or exercise of arms." This is a doctrine known to, and avowed by every

of St. Asaph, respecting which, although some demur occurred on the part of Mr. Justice Buller, about the manner of recording the verdict, they finally triumphed.

Notwithstanding he attained considerable practice in the Court of Chancery, the future Speaker does not seem to have aspired either to the honours or the emoluments of the profession. He however obtained, about this period, the place of clerk of the rules in the court of King's Bench; and we soon after find him a candidate for a seat in parliament, on which occasion he was favoured with the friendly offices of the late Duke of Leeds. His first efforts were not immediately successful; but he was not dismayed, and he has lived to witness himself nominated, in the course of a few years after, for two places at once.

Mr. Abbot stood for Helstone, in Cornwall, at the general election in 1790. At this epoch, no less than four\* candidates disputed the representation of that ancient borough, and a double return ensued. A new charter had been granted by his present ma-

every constitutional lawyer, and the subject in question would never have been canvassed in a court of justice, from any other motive than private malice.

\* 1. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. now Lord Minto.

2. Charles Abbot, Esq. at present Speaker of the House of Commons.

3. Stephen Lushington, Esq. now Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart.

4. J. B. Burges, Esq. the present Sir J. B. Burges, Bart.

jesty, the validity of which was contested upon this occasion by the members of the old corporation who claimed under a charter of Elizabeth, confirmed by Charles I. That same body had already obtained a decision of a committee of the House of Commons in its favour : and on this occasion thought fit to renew its pretensions on the same grounds as before, but with inferior success.

In 1796, Mr. Abbot, who had been seated after some delay, and an appeal to a committee, was re-elected for Helstone, in conjunction with Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne, whose family possessed considerable influence in the borough. In 1802 he was nominated both for Woodstock\* and Heytesbury, and having thus an option, he chose the former, with which he has been connected for some years as recorder.

But although, as has been already hinted, Mr. Abbot does not appear to have been very zealous to distinguish himself in the courts of justice ; yet he was not inattentive to those professional advantages which are derived from a legal education. We accordingly find him, as a legislator, producing a remedy for a grievance which had long been complained of, namely, the defective state of the promulgation of the statutes.

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\* At the close of the poll for Woodstock, the numbers were as follows :

For Sir Henry W. Dashwood, Bart	91
Right Honourable Charles Abbot	80
Wilhal Camag, Esq.	27



*John Jay*



*Wm. H. H.*



On the 2d of November 1796, he addressed the Speaker as follows :

“ Sir, at the close of the last parliament, this grievance was pointed out in the report of a committee upon the temporary laws ; and the notoriety of the grievance is such, that I believe I need appeal to no other proof of its existence than the experience of every man within and without these walls, whose situation in life has at any time, in any degree, engaged him in the administration of justice. The plain fact is this ; that the magistrates, who are entrusted with the execution of the laws, have not any correct and speedy means of knowing the laws which they are required to enforce ; and his majesty's subjects in general are exposed to the hazard of incurring the penalties of laws of which they have no direct communication whatever.

“ With regard to the causes by which the evil exists, most certainly no present blame is personally imputable any where. The truth is, that the evil has come upon us by the change of customs which naturally belongs to a change of times ; and when the usage of proclaiming statutes by the sheriff was suspended by the introduction of printing, we can only wonder, that our ancestors did not at that æra substitute some better method of promulgation by the very means of which they had acquired the facility. But, Sir, no such step was then taken ; and the grievance has since grown gradually, with the annual multiplication of our statutes, to such a magnitude as demands an immediate and effectual remedy.

“ That an adequate remedy should be given, the dignity of parliament requires, and its wisdom will undoubtedly provide. At the same time, however, if an apprehension should be entertained by any gentleman, that purposes such as these, in times like our own, ought to be limited by considerations of economy, I believe I may venture to allege, that means will probably be found arising out of the arrangement of the business, and out of the very improvement of the present system, which may furnish an effectual distribution upon a scale of very considerable extent, even without enhancing the public expenditure in any degree whatever. What that arrangement may be, through what channels the promulgation may be best carried, and to what objects it may be best directed,

directed, I should conceive to be the proper province of a committee to inquire. By that committee, such data may be collected, and such observations upon the materials before them may be prepared for the use of the house, as can enable it afterwards to form a maturer judgement upon the whole question. And ultimately I cannot doubt, but that parliament will give to our laws, that which has been so long and so greatly wanting, an expeditious, extensive, and effectual publicity."

He then moved,

"That a committee might be appointed to consider of the most effectual mode of promulgating the statutes of the realm, and to report the same, with their observations, to the house."

The motion being seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, was carried, and in the course of the proceedings, which were voluminous, Mr. Abbot presented the following resolutions, which being afterwards agreed to, formed the basis of a very salutary bill.

1. That his majesty's printer be authorised and directed to print and deliver no less than three thousand five hundred and fifty copies of every public and general act of parliament, instead of one thousand one hundred and twenty-six now issued; and not less than two hundred copies of every local act, including road-bills, and two hundred copies of every private act, according to the usual mode of distribution.

2. That he print and deliver the public acts, or remit them by the post as soon as possible after they are ordered.

3. That the private acts be remitted in the same manner.

4. That copies be sent to the chief magistrate or head officer of every town, stewartry, or burgh, in England, Scotland, and Wales.

5. That the parties interested in private bills pay the expence of printing instead of the public.

6. That the general statutes state the heads and clauses of each statute, together with the general substance of each head in a particular clause.

7. That the precise duration of temporary bills be inserted in the head, or close of the bill, and no where else.

8. That

3. That the revival of various statutes proposed to be revived be included in one bill, and those to be continued in another, expressing the precise duration or continuance thereof.

Had the ideas of Mr. Abbot, in respect to reforming and improving the diction of the acts of parliament, been fully carried into execution, they would have proved a most excellent accompaniment to their better promulgation: but he was precluded by a variety of circumstances from completing his plan. He however recommended it "as a practicable thing to the executive government, upon the experience of the laws of the American Congress; which are so simple, perspicuous, and comprehensive, as to be intelligible by persons of the meanest capacity, while they are perfectly fitted for the purpose intended."

In 1797 and 1798 we find Mr. Abbot acting as chairman of the select committee of finance, and presenting a number of important resolutions in its name, which have proved highly beneficial, by being enacted in the form of statutes.

When Mr. Pitt first proposed the income tax, that measure was warmly canvassed by the members in opposition; but it was on the other hand ably defended by the subject of this memoir on the following grounds:

1. As being assented to, in a public declaration, by the merchants of the city of London, or in other words, the *monied interest*.
2. As operating on the same excellent principle as the poor laws.
3. As sanctioned by a celebrated act in the reign of King William.
4. As being comprehensive in all its details, and affording im-  
mediate

mediate relief against the possible oppression of any of those who might act under its authority.

5. On account of the economical mode of collection.

6. On account of preventing the increase of permanent taxation.

He concluded an admirable\* speech on that side

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\* On the 4th of December, 1798, Mr. Abbot rose "to declare his perfect approbation of the measure, in which opinion of it he said he was happy in not standing alone, as a very great majority of the people of the country had manifested their public spirit and the just sense they entertained of the cause they were embarked in, by highly approving of the principle of the bill, and acknowledging the sound policy of raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year. Among those who stood foremost in the support of the measure, were to be reckoned a description of persons, who, from their habits and occupations in life, should be supposed to be the most conversant in the financial concerns of the country—he meant the leading mercantile and monied men in the metropolis. These had not only assented to the plan, but declared their opinion, that income was one of the most proper objects of taxation—and on the general principle that all income should be rated as it was found, without a reference to particular cases—and, indeed, it was on this principle that all modes of direct taxation whatsoever operated. As a striking instance of this, let gentlemen consider the principle of the poor's laws: they operated precisely as the bill in question professed to do, and the principle of the poor's laws was never yet called in question. One of the prominent features of the measure was the increasing scale from a low beginning up to a certain amount, by which it was to affect income; and by the peculiar mode laid down, the poorer classes in society were wholly exempted. To the principles of the bill, several precedents in the history of the country clearly applied, exclusive of that generally adopted, throughout the poor's laws; for instance, the poll tax in the reign of King William, the principle was directly the same, though not the mode of operation, as in the latter the tax increased

of the question, by observing, that “ as a war tax, he regarded the measure in the most favourable point of

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creased not in proportion to the incomes of individuals, but to the scale of rank. This last principle, however, being latterly abrogated in the country, and for solid reasons, for nothing, in his mind, tended so much to the well being of a state, as a proper distinction of rank, which a principle of taxing in a proportion increased according to the elevation of rank, would tend too much to level and confound; and no part of society, he observed, was so much benefited by a gradation in rank and inequality of property as the very poorer orders, as it was by persons of extensive properties or exalted rank that they were chiefly employed.

“ Another peculiar feature and leading excellence in the bill was, its being more comprehensive in its operation than former plans of taxation on a similar principle, and less liable to objection than these in any of its details. It afforded the best species of relief against the possible oppression of any of those who might act under its authority, and every possible regard was paid to the feelings of individuals. Besides, the mode of collection prescribed by it was economical beyond any former example. The provisions in the bill, which went to implicate the property of absentees, were deserving of much commendation, and calculated to render a species of property serviceable to the state, which hitherto had not contributed its due share.

“ Indeed, this principle, upon the whole, was not carried far enough; he saw no reason why the property of foreigners resident abroad should not be taxed; and why such persons should be exempted from paying their quota to the support of that state in which their properties were assigned protection, to a degree far beyond what any other country in the world could afford; much, he observed, had been said of the unconstitutionality of this measure; and this idea was grounded by gentlemen who advanced it in regard to those parts of the bill, which might lead to a disclosure of property.

“ To assert that any measure was unconstitutional, created a degree of popular anxiety, and the attention of the public was directed

view, while its domestic effects must tend to increase the national energy, in bringing the contest to a

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rected to the supporters and opposers of such measures; but it was easy to assert, that any particular measure was unconstitutional. It were not easy, however, to state any specific grounds for such assertions. Could a specific standard be erected, whereby it could be judged what measures were constitutional and what were not? A measure might be called unconstitutional which gave new powers to the crown wherewith to oppress the subject; but were any such afforded by the present measure? Certainly not! Rather the contrary. In former plans of taxation, the commissioners for levying such taxes were appointed by the crown. In the present instance they were in certain cases, to a degree at least, appointed by parliament; and where they were not, the appointment rested in the grand juries, a quarter which could not give any just grounds for popular alarm.

“There were several modifications made by the house in the powers to be granted to the commissioners under this bill; all which tended to render the measure more beneficial to the subject. No person was compelled by the bill to an involuntary statement of his income upon oath—neither was any individual to be refused a hearing upon his oath. The appellant jurisdiction granted by the bill, was also the theme of much reprehension; but for this he saw no just grounds. The principle pervaded the general system of our jurisprudence, and he saw no reason why the power of appeal should not be equally extended; were interests where the public safety was involved, to be less considered than those of individuals? If not, then the regulation was perfectly right—such a provision was necessary in numberless points of view; for while men were men, perpetual grounds of complaint would arise. However, no new power was afforded to the crown by any of the provisions of the bill. With respect to those parts of the bill which might lead to a disclosure, he regarded them in a very different light from gentlemen on the other side; the unnecessary cry raised against them was founded in prejudice, and might be attended with mischievous effects; at the same time

speedy and honourable conclusion." It must be confessed, however, that it never was and never can

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time he was aware of the scruples deeply rooted in the minds of commercial men on those points; these, certainly, ought to be regarded with tenderness, and every proper precaution was wisely taken on that head.

"With respect to disclosure in general, every proper degree of care was taken. An oath of secrecy was required from those persons who were to administer that part of the bill; and what more solemn obligation could be imposed? Beside, this principle of disclosure was by no means anomalous to the British law. Were gentlemen aware of the widely-extended system of disclosure which prevailed in Scotland for more than two centuries past, and in Ireland for, at least, one century, where every description of landed property was registered, with all its various circumstances, and open to the inspection of every individual? To come nearer—Was it not known that the like system prevailed in the two richest and most populous counties in England, Yorkshire and Middlesex, where mortgages, and the various incumbrances upon landed property, were registered, and which any man might see every day? Did not this principle of disclosure prevail generally in the West Indies, and throughout the United States of America? Why then was such a limited, contingent, and eventual exposition of property, as was ordained by the bill, so loudly complained of?

"He certainly was not partial to a republican form of government; but one of the prevailing traits of that system was, a jealousy of the executive power in the least degree interposing in the concerns of private individuals. Notwithstanding this, the Americans thought proper, after two years deliberation, to establish a general registry of property throughout their entire states. It was partially adopted here in the present day, and had formerly more generally obtained in England; he saw no reason why the practice of our ancestors, and of neighbouring countries, should be cavilled at in the present instance.

"With respect to commercial concerns, a degree of delicacy should obtain; and in this view the trading and manufacturing  
interests

be popular in a free country, as it bereaves the subjects of that *option*, so necessary in fiscal regulations.

In 1799 Mr. Abbot was enabled, from his former professional pursuits, to be uncommonly serviceable relative to the "expired and expiring laws." On this occasion he observed (Friday, March 1), that many acts had been renewed, which ought to have been permitted to fall into oblivion, while others had been suffered to elapse, although there was a manifest necessity for their continuance. Among the latter, he instanced the power of the crown to summon par-

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interests were entitled to some favour. However, in Ireland, by act of Parliament, persons of those descriptions were not exempt from registering their securities. It was the custom of persons in the most ordinary concerns to look to the right and left for the best securities, and to cause every possible disclosure to be made. Why then, he would again ask, should such violent objections be made to disclosure in the present instance, and in a case where every possible guard and shield was made use of against its being injurious to individuals?

"Upon a general view of the measure, he said, he was rejoiced, and congratulated the country upon the arrival of the period, at which a measure so replete with benefit to the public, was proposed to parliament; it was calculated to produce the happiest effects, and to involve a progressive degree of financial benefit similar to the operations of a sinking fund, which acts in an accelerated *ratio*; it would prevent the increase of permanent taxation, and in that way aid the operations of the plan which was laid down to counteract, beyond a certain amount, the extension of the public debt. The mode of carrying the measure into effect would necessarily be improved on experiment. As a war-tax he regarded it in the most favourable point of view; and its domestic effects must tend to increase the national energy, in bringing the war to a speedy and honourable conclusion."

liament,

liament, and call out the militia, upon any sudden occurrence of *rebellion* or *invasion*, certain temporary acts relative to bankruptcy and insolvency, &c. &c. "These mischiefs," he added, "had at times affected the administration of justice, as some criminal convicts had been made to undergo severities in the execution of their sentences upon the supposed authority of laws, which in fact had long ceased to have any existence."

He accordingly moved for the appointment of a committee to enquire into and regulate this abuse.\*

\* Here follows a brief outline of his speech on this occasion.

On Friday, March 1, the member for Helstone rose in consequence of the notice which he had given of moving for the appointment of the *annual committee on expired and expiring laws*; and said, "That he wished to take this opportunity of submitting to the house the propriety of some *special directions*, which it might be fit for the committee to observe in the course of its proceedings, for the purpose of attaining more completely and effectually the objects for which it was to be appointed: and that he was persuaded the house would feel those objects to be important, when it looked to their nature and extent.

"That it appeared to have been the usage of parliament in former times, and more especially within the present century, in making new laws upon matters of a novel nature, or of doubtful policy, to limit them in the first instance to some short period of duration, in order that those laws might of necessity come back for re-consideration after some experience of their effects. This practice was in itself wise and beneficial: but it had also led to a *multiplicity* and *accumulation of laws* which is scarcely to be conceived by those who have not adverted to the subject: for not only in progress of time new circumstances have called for new laws of a temporary sort; but the former also, which ought after a reasonable experience to have been finally rejected or made per-

An amendment in the laws respecting forfeiture in cases of treason, the melioration of the King's

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petual, have continued to swell the mass ; till we find at present nearly two hundred temporary acts of parliament passed within the present century, and still in force as such, continued in some instances by not less than fourteen or fifteen successive renewals, and producing a farther series of subsidiary acts—which, added to the former, amount nearly to six hundred, all of them falling within this general description.

“ That out of this *multiplicity* many evils have resulted ; and, besides the general risk which this confusion must bring upon those who are to advise, and those who are to act upon that advice in the daily occurrences of life, several of the most important interests of the country, as they affect the safety of the state, or the rights of individuals, have been occasionally put into the greatest jeopardy, and some of them have actually suffered irreparable injury.

“ Thus, the power of the *Crown* to summon parliament and call out the militia upon any sudden occurrence of *rebellion* or *invasion*, a power happily created in the present reign, and which in the year 1794 was found to be of the utmost constitutional importance, was accidentally suffered to expire at the end of the term for which it was first enacted, and the country, for an interval of some years, was deprived of this valuable safeguard and protection.

“ The *trading* interests, which are deeply concerned in the laws of *bankruptcy* and *insolvency*,” added he, “ have repeatedly suffered by the expiration of acts of this nature, as the courts of Westminster Hall well know by the long litigations which have arisen out of those interruptions of the system : and even the principal statute of the whole bankrupt code was within a few days, or rather a few hours, of its termination at the close of the last parliament, when almost by accident it was taken up, and the current of law upon these subjects preserved its former channel.

“ Mischiefs of the same nature, but of still more serious consequences, had affected even the administration of *criminal justice*.

civil list, the consideration of the public records, together with the very proper regulation of charging

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*tice.* In some cases this confusion and uncertainty has thrown impediments in the way of prosecutions for state offences; and in other cases, (of which, though correctly acquainted with the history, he should abstain from particularizing the dates or names) *criminal convicts have been made to undergo severities in the execution of their sentences upon the supposed authority of laws which in fact had long ceased to have any existence.*

“That it was hardly necessary to ask the House whether these things were fit so to remain—or whether being apprized of these evils it did not become the duty of the House to guard against them effectually, and prevent their recurrence in future.

“That the remedy at the same time was obvious, and its effects would be complete, if the House in appointing this annual committee would always direct it to report a statement of all the public general laws whatever which had actually expired, or were about to expire, within fixed and reasonable limits of time, taken retrospectively as well as prospectively; and comprehending, not only those which were running out in the course of the actual session, but those also which might terminate in the course of the ensuing session; for the sake of bringing into notice such even as were approaching to their end, and the renewal of which might require previous investigation and research, as had recently been found to be necessary in the instances of the distilleries, fisheries, &c. That the Committee should also be required to report a distinct opinion upon the expediency of reviving, continuing, or making perpetual each of those acts respectively, and that by resuming this course of proceeding in every session, the House would gradually advance towards a great and general improvement in the whole system of the statute law.”

He then moved,

1. “That a Committee be appointed to inquire, what public general laws have expired within twelve months preceding the commencement of the present session of parliament; and also what laws are about to expire within twelve months subsequent

public accountants with the payment of interest, were all schemes which either originated with, or received the countenance and assistance of Mr. Abbot.

On the first of these occasions (April 19, 1799) Mr. Abbot said,

“ That he differed so widely from the honourable member upon the floor (Mr. Tierney) in thinking that the laws, as they stood at present, were sufficiently strong for the exigencies of the times, that although he should with the sincerest satisfaction vote for the resolutions now proposed, yet he conceived the measures would have been still more complete, if they had extended to another object which was strikingly apparent upon the face of the present report, and was materially connected with the fundamental laws of the constitution.

“ He agreed entirely with the right honourable Gentleman who opened the debate that the new forms and shapes which the dangers of the present times had assumed would unquestionably re-

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to the commencement of the present session, or in the course of the next session, or at the end thereof; and to report the same from time to time to the House, with their opinion which of them are fit to be revived, continued, or made perpetual.

2. “ That the report upon temporary laws presented to this House upon the 13th of May, 1796, be referred to this Committee.”

Mr. Attorney General seconded these motions, which he said he had heard with great satisfaction, and to which he gave his fullest approbation, having from his professional and official experience a thorough conviction of their importance and utility.

A Committee of fifteen was appointed accordingly, viz. the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, the Lord Advocate for Scotland, Viscount Belgrave, Right Hon. D. Ryder, Right Hon. S. Douglas, Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Bragge, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Long, Mr. Banks, and Mr. Abbot.

quire that we should encounter them with new arms, and defend ourselves by new laws : but he thought that parliament would also do wisely in looking back to the policy of former times, and giving fresh force to those laws which our ancestors had considered to be indispensable to the public safety.

“ Amongst the dangers of the present times we find it distinctly reported, not only that treasonable practices have been plotting by persons of mean note and desperate fortunes, but that ‘ *in some degree they have received the countenance and pecuniary aid of persons of a higher situation in life* :’—and it was most manifest, that all treasons must derive much of their malignity and much of their mischievous force and effect from the countenance and aid of such leaders. That so it was recently found in Ireland, so it had been notoriously in the beginnings of the revolution in France, that so it has been in all times, the history of all countries abundantly proves ; and it may be taken as incontestably true, that wherever there is such a relaxation of the laws as encourages such leaders to shew themselves openly, it is the final warning of destruction to the government, it is the hand-writing upon the wall, and all who look upon it must tremble.

“ To check traitors of this size, and repress mischiefs of this magnitude, it had been the invariable policy of the laws of England, from before the conquest down to the revolution, to protect the throne and the constitution by ordaining that *lands of inheritance should be forfeited for treason*. This system had been gradually extended in successive ages to different descriptions of landed property ; and at length upon the union with Scotland, where the same policy had obtained, though within narrow limits, the English law of forfeiture for treason was established in that country with all its consequences. He conceived it not to be necessary at this time to enter upon any vindication of the general ground of this policy ; the wisdom and justice of it must have been long since understood by all gentlemen who had reflected upon this point of constitutional jurisprudence, and especially by those who had ever looked into the able vindication of it, which was published towards the middle of the present century by a person once eminently distinguished in the Courts of Westminster Hall and in that House, by his learning, his talents, and virtues,

of whose name it would be praise enough to say, that it had not been eclipsed even by the splendid abilities of those who had succeeded him in the same high offices.

"But, Sir," added he, "although the law of forfeiture has been thus established and extended, singular as it may appear, the same parliament which extended it throughout Great Britain, did also in the same law, by some strange fatality, some infirmity of counsel, some prevalence of popular opinion, after recognizing its general expediency, seem to have supposed that no treason could spring up in this land, except such as must have its root in a predilection for the abdicated and exiled House of Stuart; and it enacted, that after the death of the then Pretender and the accession of the House of Hanover, no estate of inheritance should be forfeited for high treason.

"It is true, that in 1744, with the returning danger of the state, the energy of Parliament seems also to have returned in some degree; but still the law fell short of its own professed end; and the forfeiture was enacted to continue only during the lives of the Pretender's sons.

"And the consequence is this, that at the present hour when I am addressing you, whether landed inheritances are or are not forfeited by high treason, depends upon the life of the last descendant of that unfortunate race, the Cardinal of York, at this time an aged and miserable fugitive, of whom, where he now is, or whether he be living or dead, no man in this house or in this country can with any confidence assert.

"This, Sir, is the object which I wish to bring distinctly within the view of the house; and looking to the state of the law upon this matter as it now is, confronted with the treasonable practices exhibited in the report before us, I wish to ask of this house, whether it be wise or expedient to suffer that this fundamental law of the state, which has prevailed for upwards of seven hundred years, which has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength, should now come to an end? and whether it is at this season proper to invert the scale and proportion of crimes and punishments in an article so nearly connected with the safety of the throne? For unless parliament interposes now, however strange it may appear, it is most incontrovertibly true that it will  
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be less penal to commit high treason than to commit common felony.

“ Having submitted these considerations to the House, he said that he should not presume to propose any resolutions upon the subject at that time, although he was by no means at a loss to state it in such terms as would embrace the proposition for which he was contending : but if upon mature reflection the House should be disposed to agree with him in the importance and prudence of the measure itself, he hoped it would be engrafted upon the rest in their progress through the house.”

Soon after this, (Tuesday, February 18, 1800) Mr. Abbot rose and observed, “ that in consequence of the notice which had been given for him by his right honourable friend, the Master of the Rolls, he wished to call the attention of the House to the state of the public records of the kingdom. And that whoever had reflected upon the importance of preserving the public records and archives in any country which enjoyed the blessings of a settled constitution and government, and looked to the condition of our public records in this country, with a view to their practical utility in matters of legislation, state, or judicature, would certainly find them in some of the principal repositories, preserved with sufficient order and regularity, and in some few, with a method and care which are exemplary ; but that in numberless instances, and in many of the most important departments, they were wholly unarranged, undescribed, and unascertained ; some of them exposed to erasure, alteration, and embezzlement, by interested parties, and others lodged in places where they are daily rotting by damp, or incurring the continual risk of destruction by fire.

“ That this state of things had come to pass, was not owing to any intentional disregard of this subject, on the part of the crown or parliament ; but to a variety of events, all of which had contributed, in different ways, to produce this result.

“ The public attention had always been directed to this object, from early times : and in some of the very first petitions upon the rolls of parliament, the public records of the kingdom are emphatically styled the people’s evidences, and it is ordained that they shall be made accessible to all the King’s subjects. At some periods the Sovereign alone, at others the Houses of Parliament

separately, and at others the King and Parliament conjointly, had interposed to make special provisions and regulations for their due preservation and arrangement. But unfortunately almost all the provisions established by the vigilance of successive reigns were broken down by the civil wars of the last century, and no effectual measures were adopted to retrieve the mischiefs produced by those times of confusion until the reign of Queen Anne. At that period Lord Halifax, in conjunction with the then Speaker, Mr. Harley (afterwards Lord Oxford), projected and carried into effect the design of collecting that magnificent compilation of state papers and records which the public now possess under the name of Rhymer's *Fœdera*. But as that great national work chiefly related to the foreign transactions of this country, Lord Halifax afterwards, with the zealous co-operation of Lord Somers, proposed to the House of Lords to investigate the state of our domestic records, as connected with our internal laws and government. That inquiry was prosecuted without intermission, and with many salutary consequences, through the reigns of Queen Anne and George the First, down to the commencement of the reign of his late Majesty;—at which time this House was induced, after the fire which happened to the Cottonian Library, to set on foot another enquiry by its own authority, still more extensive and effectual; and the very valuable report made at the conclusion of that proceeding, together with an earnest and unanimous address of the House of Commons in support of the measures which it recommended, was laid at the foot of the Throne.

“ Since that transaction, a period had now elapsed of nearly seventy years, during which some of the measures recommended by that report had been adopted very effectually, although others of them had not been fully executed: and not only the very lapse of time had progressively superadded a large accumulation of materials in every department to which that investigation extended, but many other repositories of great national importance, such as the courts maritime and ecclesiastical, had not fallen within the scope of the former inquiries, nor had they extended to Scotland. And besides that the cathedral and university libraries were not then explored, the public had since acquired other collections  
equal

equal in value to any of those already enumerated, such as the Royal, the Harleian, and the Sloanian, which now constitute the British Museum. Thus the difficulties of introducing method and arrangement had multiplied with the increase of materials: in addition to which, a new source of embarrassment had been created by the change which took place during the same interval of time in the language and written character of judicial proceedings; a change which, without questioning its utility in other respects, had altered the mode of education of those persons whose professional habits should have made them most conversant with these matters; so that few, very few persons possessing even by tradition the technical knowledge belonging to these subjects are now to be met with.

“ It was obvious that the practical evils resulting from this train of circumstances must be very considerable; and some of them were so striking and singular, and of such opposite sorts, that the statement of them would prove the urgency of some parliamentary interposition. Within the walls of the House of Commons itself, there were loads of records, noticed in the reports of parliament, nearly a century ago, and of which no man knew the contents, though they were supposed to belong to the courts of common law; but nevertheless they still remain in their present situation, for want of some proper authority to remove them, or to receive them elsewhere. In the courts of common law themselves, those rolls which are called the Docquets of Judgments, and materially concern the titles to landed property, so far as they belong to the Court of King’s Bench, are exposed to the daily risk of being burnt; and those of the Common Pleas, besides suffering an equal risk of fire, are actually perishing by damp. In the Exchequer of Equity, such is the defect of establishment, that any of the ancient decrees relating to tithes, boundaries, customs, and other rights, of the most valuable nature, may be falsified, or removed by any person whatever, almost without check or restraint; and there were persons at this time within hearing, who knew that such abuses had been practised. In the office of the Lord Treasurer’s Remembrancer the evil was of a different sort; and there, for want of accommodation, the records were utterly inaccessible, so that questions of public moment were now suspended for the want of documents,

ments, known to be lodged there, but which could not be produced, or selected from the general mass of confusion. In the Pipe-office, another branch of the Exchequer, where by law every public accountant ought to have his quietus recorded, it had been represented three years ago to a committee of this House (the Finance Committee) that no person, however deeply interested in the affairs of any public accountant, either as principal or surety, could obtain a certificate of the state of his final balance or discharge. An evil of a still different sort occurred in the instance of special commissions for the trials of treasons; and however strange it might appear, it was strictly true, that the proceedings under the commission executed in the north after the rebellion in 1745, and those in London in 1794, and at Maidstone in 1798, remained now in the unauthenticated custody of private persons without any blame whatever being imputable to them, but for want of proper process to remove them to their proper place of deposit. And that as to the affairs of Scotland or Ireland, so broken and disjointed were all the documents relating to those countries, that there was no place in which any man might not search for them with some expectation of success, and no place where he could be certain that his search would be successful.

“ He next stated, that although this was the real condition of the public records, he was by no means confident that some persons might not be of opinion, that no great harm would ensue if all these parchments and papers were left to perish in their dust, or were fairly disposed of by one general conflagration; and he was disposed to apprehend this the more, because it was well known that the levellers in the last century had actually proposed that expedient, and there might be some men now, who not unwisely for the same ends, might hold the same opinions. But this was perfectly clear, that there could be no rational medium whatever between adopting that summary expedient, or taking the most effectual means for their arrangement and preservation. Many strong reasons of personal interest and public policy must prove this to every man who had either landed property to defend, or who felt a value for the constitution under which he lived. And whatever might be the indifference with which those things were regarded in the abstract, he would ask any land-owner, either in the house

or out of it—whether, if his title came to be litigated, he would not resort to those repositories with the greatest anxiety, and think himself most secure if he found it was warranted by some royal grant, some antient perambulation, or public survey? That corporate franchises, and many of the most valuable rights of the church, had no other solid foundation; and that in parliament itself, besides the periodical discussions which arise before committees upon election rights, which are often deeply involved in these researches, whenever the two houses unhappily differ, it is by the recorded transactions of their ancestors that their conferences must be guided; for they have no other umpire to which they can resort; and even parliament, in its entire capacity, has at no very distant period, and upon occasions of the most solemn concern, looked to those repositories for the most certain standard of its proceedings, in times and upon questions the most arduous. He trusted, therefore, that it was not too much to assert, in the language of Lord Halifax's Report, 'that it will be a public damage, and dishonour to the kingdom, to suffer such monuments of antiquity to perish.'

“He then proceeded to state the leading points, to which he proposed that the present inquiry should be directed. In the first place he proposed to call upon the proper officer of every principal repository in England, which was entrusted with any records or instruments in which the public has a concern, requiring him to state the sorts of instruments in his possession, and the periods of time to which they relate; extending this inquiry also to Scotland, where matters of this nature had been in all times regulated with the most exemplary care; and meaning that the contents of all these returns should be afterwards methodized and digested by competent and experienced persons, to be authorized and employed for the express purpose of furnishing the House with the most correct information in the most convenient form. In the next place, he should propose to ascertain the state of the buildings in which the public records are lodged, as to their security and accommodation; with a view to have those public buildings repaired which may require it, and in some instances possibly to render other buildings public property, which are at present inconveniently holden by private tenure; but in no case to disturb any

any possession, or change the custody of any records, except perhaps in some very few instances of most evident right, and upon the most cogent reasons of unquestionable utility. And, in the last place, for the purpose of rendering the access to these repositories most complete, to call for an explanation of the state of their catalogues and calendars, and also of their establishments and regulations for conducting searches, with a view on this head to provide more effectually for the security of the records themselves, at the same time that the use of them might be rendered more convenient to his Majesty's subjects.

“ From this course of proceeding, beyond the execution of these particular details, there were also other consequences likely to follow, and which ought not to be wholly unnoticed. The very event of a parliamentary visitation would impress the officers of each department with a stronger sense of their duty, knowing that their conduct, if meritorious, would not be unobserved, and that any culpable negligence might not escape animadversion; and this salutary impression would endure long after the event of this particular inquiry, because the period when a similar visitation might be expected to occur must always be indefinite. Another consequence which might probably follow, would be the discovery of many valuable monuments of the policy of our ancestors, which it might not be unprofitable to keep in view hereafter: and if the survey of this country, contained in the books of Domesday, has been always truly accounted a work of great public importance, it would be gratifying to the House to know that other surveys may be found, which were executed in the reign of Edward I. II. and III. (for some of them the honourable member had seen) which would be of infinitely greater value than Domesday itself, if they should be found complete, inasmuch as they come two or three centuries nearer to our own times, and contain more curious and comprehensive views of the civil and ecclesiastical state of this country, at the periods to which they relate. But there was still one object beyond all these, upon which he could not but entertain a sanguine hope; that every new light thrown upon this subject would convince Parliament at last of the necessity and facility of establishing a general registration of all instruments affecting landed property.

erty. In Scotland this system has already prevailed for ages, with the happiest consequences to those who belong to that part of the united kingdom; in Ireland the same system has obtained for near a century, with the same beneficial consequences; and in the two most populous districts of England, namely, Middlesex, and Yorkshire, where the same plan has been established for the same length of time, though upon a narrower scale, it has been found to add a distinct and specific value to the property which it secures. Many recent events have contributed to dissipate the prejudices which once hung upon this question, and it now remains only by transcribing one short and approved law to extend the same benefits throughout the rest of England. This considered merely as an improvement of our juridical system would be one of the greatest which could be devised. But as a measure of state policy, it was demonstrably clear, that whatever establishes security and good faith between man and man in transactions respecting landed property, tends to facilitate the reciprocal exchange and conversion of the landed and monied capital; and the giving to capital an increased activity, will necessarily increase its total amount. Nor was it altogether to be disregarded as offering a new and reasonable source of revenue: for no man would have to pay for recording his title, without receiving at the same time a specific and corresponding benefit, by the additional security given to his possession; and the produce of such a revenue would be continually rising with the multiplied population and increasing prosperity of the country.

“ He concluded with stating, that although he had dwelt upon these latter topics, because they made part of his general view of the subject, it was not his intention to propose any examination of what might be politic for the House to adopt, in respect of any new institution, or any extension of former systems, but only to ascertain the state of those already established. He therefore moved—

“ For a committee to inquire into the public records of this kingdom, and of such other public instruments, rolls, books, and papers, as they shall think proper; and to report to the House the nature and condition thereof, together with what they shall judge fit

fit to be done for the better arrangement, preservation, and more convenient use of the same."

The Master of the Rolls seconded the motion; and it was carried unanimously.

Having thus proved himself a man of business, Mr. Abbot was found extremely useful, and at length entrusted with situations of equal delicacy and responsibility.

Previously to his obtaining the high office now occupied by him, we find Mr. Abbot acting as Principal Secretary of State in Ireland, under the administration of the Earl of Hardwicke; he was also one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and a privy counsellor of that kingdom. After distinguishing himself in these important stations, during a very critical period, a still more brilliant prospect opened to him in his native country. Sir John Mitford, the successor of Mr. Addington, having been nominated Chancellor of Ireland by the title of Lord Redesdale, the chair of the House of Commons thus once more became vacant.

To the honour of the representative body, the candidates for this high and important situation are but few; for in addition to an unblemished character, and a marked reputation for talents, much learning, great dignity, uncommon patience, and conspicuous impartiality, added to an extraordinary degree of research, are all required. Besides these qualifications, that of a *good constitution* ought not to be forgotten; for however honourable, the office must at the same time be allowed to be laborious and  
fatiguing

fatiguing in no common degree. It is not only a constant attendance that is required, but the evening debate is not unfrequently protracted to a late hour in the morning, while, unmindful of the refreshment of sleep, and almost of the calls of nature, the Speaker is to support decorum, enforce obedience to order, decide ultimately in respect to every contest, regulate pre-audience, and not unfrequently declare the law and usage of Parliament on any disputed points.

Nor is it only during the time that the mace is placed before him, and while attended by a secretary, trainbearer, and serjeant at arms, that his powers are called into action. It is by means of the clerks and officers of the house regulated by, and solely under his controul, that the whole business of the Commons of England is organized, adjusted, and completed. In the Speaker's office the money and other bills which originate with the House, are first engrossed, and all of what may be termed the mechanical business of Parliament, commences, and is carried forward; so that the operations not only of the individual members, but of the whole of this branch of the legislature are thus silently indeed, but expeditiously effected.

An employment of another kind remains to be mentioned. The Speaker of the House of Commons (who is always previously approved of by the King, and usually nominated *ex officio* a member of the privy council), is supposed and indeed enabled to exercise the rites of hospitality, and that too with all becoming magnificence. For this purpose he is  
provided

provided with a noble service of plate, and a liberal allowance, to which a spacious mansion in Palace-yard has been recently added.

To the high office, part of the duties of which have been thus briefly enumerated, Mr. Abbot was first nominated on Feb. 10, 1802. He was proposed by the Master of the Rolls (Sir William Grant), and the motion was seconded by Mr. Baker, Member for the county of Hertford. Mr. Sheridan, without specifying any objection, briefly remarked, "that in better times it was the practice to choose a speaker from the landed interest," and then nominated Mr. Charles Dundas, in which Lord George Cavendish concurred. The latter gentleman, however, declined in a handsome manner, observing, "that Mr. Abbot was so much better qualified for the office, that he himself was determined to support him," on which the latter was immediately elected.

On the succeeding day, being attended by a numerous body of the members, he presented himself at the bar of the House of Peers, to which he was introduced with the usual formalities by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. He then briefly informed the Lords Commissioners\* of his election, on which the Lord Chancellor complimented him on his capability for the discharge of the important functions assigned to him by the decision of the Commons; and added, that this choice was accompanied by his Majesty's complete approbation.

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\* The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hobart, and Lord Walsingham.

A new parliament having been called in the course of the same year, Sir William Scott, after descanting on the qualifications necessary for a Speaker of the House of Commons, and the peculiar claims which the gentleman who lately occupied that office had on the House, observed, "that during the time the right honourable person just alluded to had filled the chair he had discovered industry the most severe, joined to attention the most unremitting and the most minute. To knowledge the most extensive," continued Sir William, "he has added principles the most strictly consonant with the genius of our excellent constitution. Public decorum he has ever made consistent with the mildness of private intercourse. Dignity in his official situation has never been found unmixed with the most bland and engaging manners. Every expectation formed of him has been amply realized; and as the House seems to entertain the same sentiment, I shall sit down with moving that the Right Honourable Charles Abbot be called to the chair."

Mr. H. Lascelles having seconded the motion, Mr. Abbot remarked, that "the highest honour to which any member of that House could aspire was, to be recommended to its notice as a person qualified to fill the office in question." He at the same time alluded to his own insufficiency, and observed, that "although the journals of the House, and the recorded transactions of our history, afforded much instruction to a Speaker, yet neither his knowledge nor his conduct could be serviceable un-

less he possessed the confidence and good opinion of that House; nor ought he to hold it one hour after that confidence was withdrawn."

Having been then led to the chair by Sir William Scott who had proposed, and Mr. Lascelles who had seconded the motion, he was seated in due form, after which he again addressed himself to the audience as follows :

"Placed in this chair a second time by the indulgent favour of the House, I beg leave to assure it that I am impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude. But I am persuaded that the House will rather judge of my gratitude hereafter, by my sincere endeavours to discharge the duties of this office, than by any language which I could now use, and which must be inadequate to express the extent of my obligation."

Lord Castlereagh then congratulated the right honourable gentleman on receiving the greatest honour that it was in the power of the representatives of the nation to bestow, and at the same time complimented the members on the credit that would accrue from so judicious a choice; after which he moved an adjournment, which accordingly took place.

The Speaker still continues to exercise the functions of his office with his accustomed ability; and it is not a little to his praise, that no member of any party has ever accused him of prejudice or partiality.\*

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\* It has always been the practice of those who have presided in the chair of the House of Commons, to maintain the rights and privileges

On the contrary, an occurrence has recently taken place which will reflect eternal honour on the independence of his character. We now allude to, without presuming to enter into the merits of, the case of a member of the other house lately accused of malversation. On this occasion, as is well known, the numbers were exactly equal, and the Speaker was called on to decide.

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privileges of that branch of parliament with a salutary vigilance. A proof recently occurred, that Mr. Abbot is not deficient in this point of view. On Wednesday February 6, 1805, the Speaker noticed the amendment lately made by the Peers in the Pension-duty Bill, which consisted of the simple addition of a single word, viz. "that," which appeared to have been omitted, and was now wanting to render the passage grammatical. He observed that "it was his duty to call the attention of the House to this *alteration*, as when any amendment was made by the Lords in a bill of this kind (it proved to be a *money bill*), it was customary to exercise the most vigilant jealousy.

"When the amendment attached to the substance of a bill, the Commons on no occasion consented to it; but if it was evidently nothing more than a mere *clerical error*, it had not been unusual to adopt it. An instance occurred, with regard to the act passed in the 38th of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty by a Land.' The bill went up to the Lords, and it appearing there was some omission, they filled it up with the word 'tax.' These matters, however slight in appearance, were entitled to a grave and serious consideration; because the House must be aware, that if slight and trivial alterations were overlooked, it would be difficult to say how far subsequent ones might encroach on the privileges of the Commons."

A special entry was accordingly made of this alteration, that posterity might be made acquainted with the grounds on which it had taken place.

To the credit of the *chair*, it seems to have been considered as a point of honour on the part of whoever has occupied it of late years, to act on such occasions contrary to the declared wish of the minister of the crown. Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards Lord Grantley, in a case not exactly similar to the present, excited the indignation of a former premier \* by his spirited conduct, in the presence of majesty itself:† and Mr. Pitt, on a former occasion, when the votes of the House were nicely equipoised, found that Mr. Cornwall had spirit enough to make the unpopular cause kick the beam, by throwing the mace into the opposite scale. In the present instance, Mr. Abbot, after expressing his reasons in a short but comprehensive speech, conducted himself in a similar manner, and decided in the first instance on the guilt and prosecution of Viscount Melville.

The Speaker, who has been some years ‡ married to Elizabeth, the elder daughter of § Sir Philip

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\* Lord North.

† The administration of that day being notoriously profuse, it was considered as a reflection on it, to entreat the king, at the bar of the House of Peers, “that what his faithful Commons had granted liberally, might be applied *wisely and economically*.”

‡ They were married December 29, 1797.

§ It may not be altogether inapposite in this place to state the worthy and very laudable conduct of the father-in-law of the Speaker of the House of Commons, in the express words of a very able and eloquent member of the British parliament. “I have not the honour,” says he, while striving to modify the horrors of the slave-trade, “of knowing the gentleman whose example I am going to appeal to, I mean Sir Philip Gibbs; but I know his character, and what his conduct has been in the management of his estate

Gibbs, Bart. of Springhead, in the island of Barbadoes, usually resides with his family during the recess, at his seat called Mayfield, at Kidbrook, near East Grinstead: it is a charming house, surrounded by extensive grounds, formerly in the possession of the Earl of Abergavenny.

It may at first appear extraordinary, that so grave a character, exchanging the mace for the sword, should accept a commission in the volunteers; but even this is not without precedent during the civil wars, nor without example in the person of one of his predecessors \* in our own times. Mr. Abbot, reflecting on the propriety of affording a salutary example, as well as evincing the policy of a general armament, some time since accepted of a troop of cavalry in the North Pevensey Legion, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and actually commanded the right wing of the Sussex line, under Lord Sheffield, during a late review.

In his official capacity, the Speaker is a trustee of the Bristish Museum, one of the governors of Green-

estate in Barbadoes. The former is eminently humane, the latter equally judicious. His virtues are to me a proof of his wisdom. He gives his negroes land and stock, with time to cultivate. He feeds and clothes them well.

“He encourages marriage among them, and allows of no punishment but by a sentence of a jury of negroes. The consequence is, that his slaves do double the work of others, because they are better able, and more willing. The instructions he has given to the managers of his estate are a model for imitation. The success and the profit have corresponded with the benevolent design.”

\* Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth.

wich Hospital, &c. &c. In his private, he is likewise a Doctor of Law of the university, and Recorder of the city, of Oxford; F. R. S. and A. S.; and Keeper of the Privy Seal in Ireland.

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THE MOST REV. FATHER IN GOD, HIS GRACE  
CHARLES, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF  
CANTERBURY,

METROPOLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND.

IN every stage of society, and in every political body hitherto known to us, an intermixture of something in the shape of religion has always been discernible: the histories of barbarians and polished states alike agree in this particular. It is indeed often found to be disfigured by the rude manners of a people, or perverted by the discordant interests of individuals; but it is still visible in the actions, and generally gives a favourable tincture to the character, of a nation.

Our own island was once renowned for a very singular species of worship; into which, notwithstanding the Druids, like the Phenicians of old, introduced the horrid custom of human sacrifice, yet this singular species of ecclesiastical aristocracy at the same time inculcated maxims of high importance, and sentiments not a little favourable to the practice of virtue.

The mighty people who overcame both them and  
their

their votaries, seem on this occasion to have departed from their usual moderation : for they proceeded to the length of extirpation ; and introduced the gods and the superstition of ancient Rome, in the place of a faith which they had been at such pains to proscribe.

The Saxons, whose deities, partaking of their own fierceness, breathed nothing but slaughter and devastation, in their turn demanded the adoration of an insensate multitude ; till at length, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, St. Augustine, happily undertaking the mission to Britain, introduced a purer and a milder worship, in consequence of which the blessings of Christianity happily triumphed over the horrors of paganism.

This pious monk, landing in the Isle of Thanet, chose Kent as the scene on which he was to distinguish his ardour ; and having been fortunate enough to find an obedient convert in Ethelbert (to whose mind, terrified with doubts, was held out the pleasing prospect of “ eternal salvation”), he propagated a new religion with equal zeal and success.

The splendour of the see of Canterbury, supposed to have been founded at the end of the sixth\* century, tended not a little perhaps to the more extensive propagation of the faith ; but it was not till a long† period, and after many bitter disputes, had intervened, that its prelate became invested with the special honour of being designated metropolitan of all England.

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\* In 597.

† In 1029.

The power annexed to this high office has always been considered so extensive,\* and was exercised with such rigour both in the time of Becket and of some of his predecessors, that even in our own days great care has been generally taken that family dignity should not be superadded to official influence, and that the dictates of age and experience shall have modified the sallies of youthful ambition. Accordingly, we find that with two† exceptions only, no churchman of a noble descent has been promoted to this see since the time of Cardinal Pole; while it has been asserted, that only one child of an archbishop

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\* The powers claimed, and even exercised, by some of the English prelates, were extensive in their nature, and sometimes singular in their practice. When armed with the delegated authority of Rome, they threatened with impunity the prince, his favourites, and even the whole kingdom, with the terrors of an interdict. One of them, of his own authority, proceeded to excommunication against some persons who had *wickedly* cut off the tail of his palfrey; and at a more recent period divine service was prohibited to a whole parish, because the churchwardens had omitted to ring at a *visitation*. But that stretch of authority most frequently quoted is the *flagellation* of Henry II. for the murder of Thomas Becket: a churchman ambitious, haughty, and unaccommodating; but most unjustly, as well as treacherously, murdered, in consequence of the following speech, which rendered the monarch an accessary, and made him deserving of punishment of a different kind: "Shall this fellow, who came to court on a lame horse, with all his estate in a wallet behind him, trample upon his king, the royal family, and the whole kingdom? *Will none of all those lazy cowardly knights whom I maintain, deliver me from this turbulent priest?*" Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 10. p. 119.

† The Honourable Dr. Cornwallis, and the present Archbishop.

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has been born in the palace of Lambeth subsequently to the time of the Reformation.

There have now been eighty-nine prelates of this see, including Lanfranc an Italian, Anselm a native of Flanders, Thomas Becket the first English archbishop posterior to the Conquest, Langton also a native of this country, Boniface son of Peter Earl of Savoy, Robert Winchelsey brought up at Canterbury-school, and William Courtenay son of Hugh Earl of Devonshire (supposed to be descended from the kings of France of the third race, as well as from the Emperor of Trebisonde).\*

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\* Here follows a list of the Archbishops of Canterbury from the time of Cranmer inclusive.

Thomas Cranmer was declared by a Synod to be Primate and Metropolitan of all England: he was burnt in the reign of Mary.

Reginald Pole: he was son of Margaret Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George Duke of Clarence brother to Edward IV.

Mathew Parker: he was bred at Cambridge, and became Chaplain to Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII. and Edward VI.—Queen Mary, during her reign, deprived him of church-preferment, because he was married.

Edward Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury, was translated from York to this see.

John Whitgift had held the see of Worcester, and was President of Wales.

Richard Bancroft was translated from London: he was a high-churchman, and a favourite of James I.

George Abbot, D.D. had been Dean of Winchester, and Master of University-college, Oxford.

William Laud has rendered his name infamous to posterity by his indiscreet zeal in religion, and his doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance in politics.

William Juxon attended Charles the First on the scaffold, and  
from

Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, whose name graces the present article, in addition to the exercise of the highest ecclesiastical functions in this kingdom, might also boast (were it either consonant to the primitive notions of Christianity, or the tenor of his own disposition) a most illustrious descent. He is a branch of the ducal family of Manners, and in his veins continues to flow part of the blood of one of our royal heroes : being first cousin to the fourth, and great-grandson to the third, Duke of Rutland ; who was the sixth in descent from Thomas the first Earl, the great-grandson

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from that monarch received the appellation of “ an honest man.”

Gilbert Sheldon was imprisoned at Oxford, in 1648, by the government that succeeded on the demise of Charles I. He appears to have been very munificent, having expended near sixty-six thousand pounds in public and private benefactions.

William Sancroft was one of the seven recusant bishops who were imprisoned in the Tower.

John Tillotson, D.D. famous during his own times for his eloquent Sermons, the reputation of which has however declined greatly of late years.

Thomas Tenison, D.D. translated from the see of Lincoln.

William Wake, D.D. translated also from Lincoln.

Dr. Potter.

Dr. Herring, translated from York.

Dr. Hutson.

Dr. Secker, the eighty-fifth, a prelate of exemplary virtue, formerly Bishop of Oxford.

The Hon. and Rev. Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, translated from the see of Lichfield and Coventry.

Dr. Moore, of Pembroke College, Oxford ; a prelate of exemplary morals, two of whose sons now possess prebendal stalls in Canterbury-cathedral.

And Dr. Manners Sutton.

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in the female line of Richard Duke of York, who was the great-grandson in the female line of Edward III.

His father, Lord George Sutton) so called from a family alliance with Bridget, only daughter of Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington) in 1749 married Diana, daughter of Thomas Chaplain, of Blankley, in the county palatine of Lancaster, Esq.; and this, his fourth son, was born February 17, 1755. Being intended for the church, he received an excellent education, which was completed at the university of Cambridge;\* where in 1777 we find him one of the *triposes*, on which occasion he took the degree of A.B. He afterwards proceeded D.D. and soon obtained ecclesiastical preferment; but resigned all his livings, we believe, on becoming Bishop of Norwich, on the demise of Dr. Horne: with that see however he held the deanry of Windsor.

The latter of these preferments, of course, rendered him well known to the royal family, with whom both he and his lady were great favourites, and it was accordingly to be expected that further preferment was still in store. The author of the Pursuits of Literature was so well persuaded of the fact, that he not only prognosticated this, but actually anticipated the archiepiscopal honours, so early as 1797.†

\* He was a member of Emanuel.

† "OCTAVIUS.

"Nay, if you feed on this cœlestial strain,  
You may with Gods hold converse, not with men.

This guess, which possesses all the air of a *prophecy*, was fully realised in the year 1805, on the demise of the late respectable prelate Dr. Moore, who had exercised the high functions of the primacy during a considerable period. On Tuesday, February 12, a chapter was held at the cathedral of Canterbury, on purpose to supply the late vacancy ; and his majesty's *cong   d'  lire* having been read, recommending the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, Lord Bishop of Norwich, to the dean and chapter, one of the senior minor canons was proposed in the usual manner, *pro form  *, as an opponent. After the voices had been counted, the election was declared to have fallen on the former : on which the Vice Dean (the Reverend Dr. Nelson, brother to the celebrated naval lord of the same name) having been declared his proxy, a procession was formed, consisting of the dignitaries, the preachers, the two masters of the King's school, the fifty King's scholars, &c. ; and having proceeded towards the altar, the organ at the same time playing an anthem, accom-

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Sooner the people's rights shall Horsley prove,  
Or Sutton\* cease to claim the public love;  
And e'en forego, from dignity of place,  
His polish'd mind and reconciling face.

“ \* Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, Bishop of Norwich ; a prelate whose amiable demeanour, useful learning, and conciliating habits of life, particularly recommend his episcopal character. No man appears to me so peculiarly marked out for the HIGHEST DIGNITY of the church, *sede vacante*, as Dr. Sutton.” (Published in July 1797.)

panied

panied by the choristers, he was installed in the throne of the ancient kings of Kent. After this the clergy retired to an entertainment provided upon the occasion.

On the 21st of February, 1805, the ceremony of *confirmation* took place; and all persons opposing the late election were formally and openly cited to appear at Bow church, in the city of London: after which letters testimonial having been made out, the nomination became valid and final.\* On the same day,

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\* Here follows a short account of the ceremonial :

On the day appointed for the confirmation of the election of Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, Bishop of Norwich, to the See of Canterbury, the ceremony took place accordingly at Bow church, Cheapside. Soon after ten o'clock the Commissioners under the Great Seal (the Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Chichester, Chester, and Rochester), the Archbishop Elect, the Right Hon. Sir Wm. Wynne Knight, and the Right Hon. Sir Wm. Scott, Chancellors of the Province of Canterbury, Sir John Nichols the King's Advocate General, Dr. Lawrence and twelve other learned Doctors, and about as many Proctors, in their full robes, assembled in the vestry-room of the church, where the Archbishop Elect received the congratulations of a number of his friends. A few minutes after eleven o'clock they proceeded in grand procession to the church. The Archbishop Elect took his seat in a pew opposite the pulpit. The Reverend Bishops were seated in a pew opposite the reading-desk. The Chancellors, the Doctors, and Proctors, had pews allotted to them. As soon as the procession entered the church, a grand performance on the organ commenced; after which the curate of the parish read part of the morning service: the Commissioners then left their pews, and took their seats round a large table in the middle aisle. The Bishop of Winchester, as president, in an arm-chair, with his back to the altar, read the appointment to the Commission under the Great Seal, and several other documents,

the Most Reverend Father in God, Charles Manners Sutton, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was, by his

ments. preparatory to the commencement of the business. Sir William Scott then presented himself at the foot of the table, and said :

“ I attend as proxy for the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and present to your Grace a certificate of your being elected to be Archbishop and Pastor of the said See, and pray that your Grace will be pleased to give your consent to the said election.”

After some of the usual forms being gone through by the officers of the Court, the Archbishop Elect made the following declaration in a loud voice :

“ In the name of God, amen. I, Charles Manners Sutton, by Divine permission Bishop of Norwich, regularly and lawfully named and elected Archbishop and Pastor of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ, Canterbury ; and to accept of such election of myself and my person, so as is assigned, made, and celebrated, on the part and behalf of the Rev. the Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ, Canterbury ; earnestly requested and entreated, trusting in the clemency of Almighty God, do accept of such election of myself and my person, so as is premised, made, and celebrated, to the honour of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : and do give my assent and consent, in this writing, to the said election, being once and again asked and entreated thereto.”

Sir W. Scott then addressed the Commissioners :

“ I exhibit my proxy for the Rev. the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and make myself a party for them ; and present to your Lordships the Letters Patent of our Sovereign Lord the King, under the Great Seal, for the confirmation of the election of the Right Reverend Father in God, Doctor Charles Manners Sutton, by divine permission Lord Bishop of Norwich, to the See of Canterbury.”

The Bishop of Winchester, as first Commissioner, gave directions for it to be read ; which was accordingly done by Mr. Moore, the Deputy Register.

Sir

Majesty's command, nominated a member of his Most Honourable Privy Council, and being intro-

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Sir W. Scott then prayed that their Lordships would be pleased to take upon them the duty of the confirmation ; and to decree that it be proceeded in according to the form of the said Letters Patent, and the exigency of the law : in answer to which the Bishop of Winchester replied, in the name of himself and his reverend brethren, in obedience to the command of the Sovereign, they would take upon them the duty of the confirmation ; and accordingly decreed that William Moore, Esq. be their actuary in this behalf.

Sir W. Scott then presented to their Lordships the Archbishop, and said :

“ I do hereby judicially produce his Lordship.”

And, as Proctor for the Dean and Chapter, he exhibited a mandate, with a certificate thereupon endorsed, touching the execution of the said mandate against all and singular opposers ; and prayed they may be publicly called.

The Bishop of Winchester gave directions that the opposers should be called ; which was done in a loud voice by the officer of the court, in the middle aisle ; but no one answering, the business proceeded without interruption.

Sir William Scott then addressed their Lordships :

“ I accuse the contumacy of all persons cited, intimated, publicly called, and not appearing ; and on pain of such their contumacy, pray that they and every of them be precluded from the means of further opposing the said election, the manner thereof, or the person elected in this behalf : and also that it be decreed to be proceeded to further acts in the business of confirmation ; the absence or continuance of the persons so cited, intimated, publicly called, and not appearing, in any wise notwithstanding : and I produce a schedule, which I pray to be read.”

This was complied with, and read by the Bishop of Winchester, and was afterwards signed by himself and the other reverend commissioners, confirming the election.

Sir William Scott then said :

duced was sworn accordingly; after which, having precedence of all subjects not of the blood-royal, he was placed at the right hand of the Lord President.

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“ In pain of the contumacy of all persons cited, publicly called, and not appearing, I present a summary petition, and pray that it be admitted and decreed to be proceeded upon immediately.”

The Bishop of Winchester said, he admitted the summary petition so far as agreeable to law, and decreed that it be proceeded summarily and plainly.

Sir William Scott replied :

“ In pain of the contumacy of all and singular persons cited, publicly called, and not appearing, and in proof of the matters contained in my said petition, I exhibit a certificate touching and concerning the election of the Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, Lord Bishop of Norwich, to be Archbishop and Pastor of the Cathedral Church of Christ, at Canterbury, made by the said Dean and Chapter of the said Church, under their common seal. I likewise exhibit the consent of the said Right Reverend Father in God, Doctor Charles Manners Sutton, to the said election; and his Majesty's Letters Patent; and allege that all the matters set forth in the said exhibits respectively were and are true, and so had and done as therein contained; and pray all of them to be admitted, and a term to be assigned to me to hear sentence instantly.”

The Bishop of Winchester replied :

“ In pain of the contumacy of all cited, intimated, publicly called, and not appearing, we admit these public instruments, and do assign to hear sentence instantly.”

The opposers were again called in a loud voice, by the officer of the court, in the middle aisle; none appearing, Sir William Scott said :

“ I accuse the contumacy of all and singular persons cited, intimated, and publicly called : and none appearing, I pray them to be pronounced contumacious; and, in pain of such their contumacy, that it be decreed to be proceeded to the pronouncing  
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No public entry into the chief city of the diocese, according to ancient custom, took place; and we believe, indeed, that his Grace did not visit Canterbury until the month of September last, when he repaired in a private manner to the house of the Dean, where the prebendaries in residence were presented to him. He then entered the cathedral, and paid particular attention to the ancient charters, which were exposed to his inspection in the audit-room, by that able and indefatigable antiquary, Mr. Alderman Bunce; who has been employed for some time in arranging an immense mass of records, which appear to have remained in a state of inexplicable confusion during a period long anterior to the Re-

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your definitive sentence; and I produce a schedule, which I pray to be read."

This was accordingly done by the Bishop of Winchester. His Lordship afterwards signed it, as did the other Rev. Bishops.

Sir William Scott then introduced the Archbishop Elect, and informed their Lordships his Grace was ready to take the necessary oaths. His Grace presented himself at the foot of the table, and kneeling administered to himself three oaths, viz.—A disavowal of any belief in Popery, or the power of the Pope; his firm belief in the Holy Scriptures; and his declaration, faithfully to preside over the See to which he had been elected.

Several other documents were then read; and Sir William Scott prayed a public instrument, and Letters Testimonial, to be made out, touching and concerning the confirming; which were decreed.

The procession then returned to the vestry, in the same order as they came; during which time a grand piece of music was played upon the organ.

A profusion of cakes, sweetmeats, and Madeira wine, was provided in the vestry, for the refreshment of the company.

formation. After a short residence at Ramsgate with part of his family, for the benefit of the air, the Archbishop returned and ordained two candidates\* ; the customary charge being read by himself with an audible manly voice, an impressive manner, and an elegant delivery.

Dr. Sutton, like his brother-Archbishop of York, has only published a single sermon ; and this too at the express request of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, signified through their worthy secretary, the Rev. Dr. Morice. It was preached on Friday, Feb. 17, 1757, while his Grace was Bishop of Norwich : the text is from Psalm lxxxvi. verse 9. “ *All nations whom thou hast made shall come, and worship thee, and glorify thy name.*” In this very able discourse, which infers great knowledge of the world, as well as of books, his Lordship insists on the vast importance of the trust reposed in that society, and the many arduous duties resulting from it. He also observes, that in the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, no member can be insensible to the consequences with which every false step is connected ; as he sees the difficulty of preventing error, and the still greater difficulty of checking its growth where once it has taken root.

After remarking that the controul of distant churches is not of easy arrangement, neither is a cor-

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\* The Rev. ——— Twiss, A. M. of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Curate of Meopham in Kent, who was ordained Priest ; and W. Williamson, A. B. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who was made a Deacon.

rect knowledge of their spiritual state always to be obtained, it is added :

“ The qualifications necessary to a missionary are many and rare ; the numbers from which he is selected are few and scanty. The nature of the mission requires in the same individual the vigour of youth with the discretion of old age ; the zeal of the enthusiast with the temper and discretion of the christian teacher.

“ These are difficulties of no ordinary size : they are coeval, however, with the institution itself, and have hitherto been surmounted under circumstances of greater discouragement than those which at present remain. Were indeed the difficulties increased upon our hands, they could only furnish us with fresh argument for increased energy and exertion.

“ The attempt to propagate the gospel can never be abandoned. It is therefore matter of great consolation, that many of the obstacles which in the infancy of this institution appeared to be of a size almost insurmountable, have gradually subsided in consequence of the prudence and temperate firmness with which they have been met.”

Dr. Sutton next proceeds to a comparison between the state in which the Society found the northern continent of America, when its earliest efforts were directed thither, with the situation of the same tract of country as it now stands in respect to morals and religion. He observes on this occasion,

“ That the manners and even virtues of polished society are caught by imitation, and barbarism itself is infectious. The rudest mind cannot be insensible to the security and ease and elegance attached to a state of civilization. But savage life,” adds he, “ is not without its charms. The prominent feature of the one is safety ; and of the other an almost unbounded licence of action. The principal purpose of civil institutions is to regulate and controul the relative actions of men. In the completion of this purpose every member of civil society has an acknowledged and undoubted interest. But whether this interest follows him

into the uncultivated quarters of the globe, whether it operates upon him in his intercourse with barbarous life, is a question which may admit of considerable doubt.

“ The advantages he derives from early education give him a decided superiority over those with whom he has to traffic. Much of the reciprocity which is found in civil society, has no place in the communications which subsist between him and the savage. Here a main spring to integrity is broken : he sees no danger in indulging his inclinations, however they may trespass upon his neighbour : he has nothing to fear from the resentment of mankind, and as little perhaps from the retaliation of the injured party ; examples of licentiousness surround him ; every passion of the human mind is let loose before him ; all the artificial restraints of civil life are at once removed from his sight. Nothing remains to controul his appetites but the recollection of old habits, and the compunctions of religious feeling. How long these are likely to retain their influence, it may be difficult to calculate ; but we are told by the historian\* of this society, ‘ that the very Indian darkness was not more gloomy and horrid than that in which some of the English inhabitants of the colonies lived.’ ”

After this, he remarks, that the cares of this institution are now reduced to the religious superintendence of the remaining British settlements in the western world, “ as the United States of America are no longer under the protection or controul of the British government : grown up to full strength and independence under the fostering care of the mother country, they cease to be attached to her by any other ties than those of gratitude, of affection, and of mutual interest. The rapid progress,” it is added, “ which these colonies have made to maturity (a progress I believe unprecedented in the history of colo-

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\* Dr. David Humphries.

nization), can be attributed to no other cause than the generous nature of that government from which they are sprung. The independence which followed is neither at this day to be lamented, nor yet to be considered as a total and entire separation of the two countries; connected as they are by one common interest, and bound to each other by those ties which in political alliances are always found to be of great prevalence, a similarity of manners, of language, of laws, of religion."

We shall close our quotations from this Sermon, which have been longer than usual because it is not to be purchased, and has therefore been seen but by few, with some observations relative to the negro slave :

"With respect to him," says the learned preacher, "much, I trust, has been accomplished. The pious exhortations addressed to masters of families in the English plantations, and proceeding from that quarter to which they more especially belonged, have doubtless contributed to facilitate the means of instruction, and to meliorate the condition of the negro slave. The opinion which has long prevailed among the planters (an opinion not more illiberal in its origin than mischievous in its consequences), that the interests of masters of plantations are at variance with the mental improvement of their slaves, is, I trust, entirely exploded. Nor will it any longer be objected, that the principles and duties of Christianity are hostile to the existence of slavery, however modified. In truth, Christianity hath left all temporal governments as it found them, without impeachment of any form or description whatsoever; instilling only into the minds of the governors and governed the love of order, of justice, of mercy, of forgiveness, of mutual goodness, of universal charity. If all or any of these be incompatible with slavery, doubtless slavery is incompatible with the Christian religion. But surely it will not be argued

by those who have an interest in the continuance of the system, that the slave should be excluded from the light of the Gospel, and the hope of immortality through the merits and mediation of our blessed Saviour, lest a knowledge of these high matters should tend in its immediate consequences to ease his yoke, and to lighten his burden. If however there be any one hardy enough to advance the argument, I trust there will be virtue enough in this country to draw it to a short conclusion. It cannot be a question with Christians, whether the propagation of the Gospel, or the system of slavery, shall be preferred."

Having thus given a few specimens from the only work to which this prelate's name has been prefixed, we shall now say something of him in his quality of a peer of parliament.

Dr. Sutton, very much to his credit, has never distinguished himself as a politician. This is generally a character that begets many enemies when exercised with asperity even in a just cause, and has always been considered particularly odious in a prelate of the church of England. Content with assisting the government at all critical times, he has on no occasion displayed an overweening zeal or an unchristian-like severity.

Indeed his Lordship has seldom risen in the house of peers but when the immediate concerns of his own order or the general interests of morality rendered it in some measure indispensable. When the "Clergy Farming and Residence bill," introduced by Sir William Scott, was debated in June 1803, he spoke several times; and, while he insisted on the necessity of it, pointed out the spirit of persecution introduced into the act of Henry VIII., some of the clauses of which

which afforded a lucrative employment to informers. But although he fully approved the principle, yet several of the provisions appeared to him objectionable, and these he was ready to point out in a committee.

When the clause was debated relative to the residence of fellows of colleges, a member objected to their exemption; and observed, that at Oxford "some of them preferred an easy and indolent life, and chose to reside at the university, not to assist in the good works of education and science that were going on there, but, in fact, contributing by their example to retard." On this Dr. Sutton gave an account of the practice of Cambridge, bestowed a high character on the conduct of all its officers of every description, and remarked, "that for discipline, regularity, learning, and every branch of science, this university never stood higher than at present."

His Lordship spoke for the first time in his archiepiscopal quality on "Moor's Divorce bill," June 13, 1805. He seized that occasion "to deprecate every thing that might give facility to divorces; which, if carried beyond a certain extent, tended in fact to afford a direct encouragement to the practice of adultery itself."

On the resumed debate\* on the Catholic Petition, after the Earl of Suffolk and Lord Hutchinson had spoken in behalf, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire against the prayer of it, the Archbishop of

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\* Monday, May 13, 1805.

Canterbury rose, and immediately fixed the attention of the house. His Grace enumerated at length the various privileges that had been conceded to the catholics by the eighteenth, twenty-second, thirty-first, and thirty-third of his present majesty, and “ expressed his surprise, that after such a series of concessions a petition like that on the table should be brought forward. Toleration,” he added, “ was the brightest ornament of the church of England, but the claims now meant to be obtained were inconsistent with the very idea of toleration; for they struck at the act of settlement, and tended to give not only equality, but eventual superiority, to the Roman catholic religion in a protestant state.”

Dr. Sutton, in the spring of 1778, married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Thoroton, Esq.; a lady, we believe, related to him, and by whom in the course of twenty-seven years he has had no less than thirteen children\*; all of whom, two only excepted, have been females. The Archbishop is very desirous to possess a suitable mansion within his diocese; and as a fund has been accumulating some years for this purpose, in consequence of the sale of the old palace of Croydon, about thirty-five thousand pounds of which is now realised, he will be enabled to purchase a noble residence for himself and successors when a proper opportunity for that purpose shall occur.

The revenue of the see, consisting of nearly all the tenths of the diocese, is now estimated at twelve

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\* His father, Lord George, had twelve by his first wife.

thousand pounds *per annum* ; but as the sum of two thousand six hundred and twelve pounds twelve shillings and sixpence is to be paid for first-fruits, and a variety of other fees and expences are necessarily incurred, his Grace will not perhaps touch a single shilling for the first year

Dr. Sutton's influence and patronage are very considerable. He has twenty-one suffragans under him, possesses a visitatorial power over thirty-six parishes, and is patron of one hundred and ten livings \*, about half a score of which are however only alternately in his gift. He also nominates the six preachers for the cathedral, and appoints to three of the prebendal stalls, two of which are at this moment filled by two of the sons of his predecessor.

That the Archbishop may live many years, so as to be enabled to provide for a very numerous offspring, and enjoy his metropolitanical dignity with all imaginable comfort to himself, as well as to the due edification of the numerous body of clergy entrusted to his charge, is the sincere wish of the writer of this memoir.

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\* Of these, some are very valuable ; that of Wrotham in particular, which is perhaps the *second* in England in point of emolument.

# SIR THOMAS MANNERS SUTTON, KNT.

ONE OF THE BARONS OF THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

THIS Judge, the ninth child of Lord George Sutton by Miss Diana Blankney, a Lincolnshire heiress, is a younger brother of the primate. He was educated with the Archbishop at Emanuel college, Cambridge, and was one of the *wranglers* there in 1777, on which occasion he obtained a degree. This facilitated his admission to the bar, by diminishing the period of probation required by the society of Lincoln's-inn, of which he was a member.

Being a young man of promising talents, the honours of the profession were of course laid open to him. He accordingly obtained a silk gown, with a patent of precedency ; and was appointed first Justice for Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merionethshire. He was also nominated Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, and one of his highness's counsel as Duke of Cornwall.

Mr. Sutton early in life was returned a member for the borough of Newark in Nottinghamshire, and sat as one of its representatives during part of no less than five succeeding parliaments. In the course of a career of such long duration he had frequent opportunities of delivering his sentiments on a variety of subjects ; but he chiefly distinguished himself in the affairs of the Prince of Wales, whose claims were stated with such precision, and whose pretensions were

were brought forward with such a luminous arrangement, that they made a deep impression both on the House of Commons and the public.

On the 17th of February 1802, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to move for a committee relative to the expenditure of his Majesty's civil list, Mr. Sutton called the attention of the House to a subject intimately connected with the question then before them.

"It was pretty generally known," he observed, "that the duchy of Cornwall belonged to the crown till the birth of a Prince of Wales, and that it was then separated from it, and vested in the heir apparent. The infant prince instantly became Duke of Cornwall; and as such was entitled to the revenues of the duchy. These were in general allowed to accumulate during his minority, and afforded a sum from which his establishment might be formed on his coming of age. In this instance, however, they had not been secured for the benefit of the Prince, but applied to the uses of the civil list; for which, had it not been for this, other resources must have been found.

"Some might imagine that the present was a question between his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, but in fact it was a question between the Prince of Wales and the public: had it been otherwise, his Royal Highness never would have applied to this House; and would have sacrificed interests of much greater moment to duty, affection, and respect, for his father and his sovereign."

After quoting the opinion of Mr. (now Sir James) Mansfield and others on this subject, and observing that both principle and precedent were in his favour, he stated that the period during which the arrears had accrued was from 1762 to 1783; and added, that the sum was little short of four hundred thousand pounds, but with interest amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds.

“It may be said,” added he, “that there should be an allowance for the expences incurred by his Royal Highness’s education; and that a deduction should be made for the sums of twelve thousand pounds and sixteen thousand pounds, which had been paid into the privy purse. Giving credit, however, for one hundred thousand pounds on these accounts, three hundred thousand pounds would still remain, which, if vested in the funds, would now have amounted to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds.

“That this claim had not been satisfied would appear from the following statement: In 1783 sixty thousand pounds had been voted to his Royal Highness to defray the charges incurred by him on setting out in life. In 1787 one hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds had been voted him out of the civil list, to pay his debts, and to be laid out in Carleton House. In 1795, upon his marriage, twenty-eight thousand pounds had been voted him for the payment of his debts, and fifty-six thousand pounds to complete Carleton House; but it would be unreasonable to consider the money expended on that building as voted *personally* to the prince, it being realized for the good of the crown.

“The sum *bona fide* voted to his Royal Highness thus did not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; a sum much below what he was entitled to on his coming of age. His income would not for a moment be considered as, from its amount, in any degree a compensation to him for his just demands; for in 1742 one hundred thousand pounds a year had been voted to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of his Majesty, and grandfather to his Royal Highness. That Prince’s family was then very small, and the House of Commons had no other object in view than to enable him to support the splendour becoming his elevated rank. When the present Prince first received a separate establishment, the annual sum allowed him did not exceed fifty thousand pounds. In 1787 this was raised to sixty thousand pounds; and in 1793, upon his marriage, to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, seventy-five thousand pounds being set aside to liquidate his debts: his Royal Highness, however, was obliged to reduce his establishment, and to avoid every expence not absolutely necessary.”

Mr. Sutton then proceeded to infer, “that if in 1742 the parliament deemed one hundred thousand pounds a sufficiently small  
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sum to support the rank of the heir apparent, when the rise was considered in all the necessities and luxuries of life, it surely had not exceeded in liberality to his Royal Highness; and no one could imagine that debts due by him to the public had been discharged by these allowances. Whoever inspected the accounts on the table must acknowledge that he had not received more than his due, and that instead of being the debtor he was the creditor of the public. He left it to the House to consider what steps it would be proper to take. If an investigation was judged necessary, he should be happy to yield all the assistance in his power; but thought it much better that the subject should be conducted by some one of greater abilities, experience, and consideration with the public. He entertained no doubt that the House would continue to shew that mixture of justice and liberality which had formerly distinguished it; and that it would equally consult the interests of the public and his Royal Highness, well knowing that they are closely and inseparably united."

This speech, of which the above is only a faint outline, produced such a sensation on the audience, that Mr. Sutton was complimented both by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; and hopes were entertained by the friends of the heir apparent that the house might be disposed, on some future occasion, to pay a more favourable attention to his demands than they had hitherto experienced.

Accordingly, early in the spring of the same year (March 15), the same gentleman, after a previous motion, entered into a variety of details on this subject, which in the mean time had been canvassed with great attention. He stated that the claim of his Royal Highness was founded upon a grant of Edward III. to the Black Prince, to whom he conveyed the duchy and its revenue when he was only eight years of age.

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“What Edward had in view by this grant,” said Mr. S., “was to make over the property to his son, and to secure it to him independent of the crown, that the Prince might be enabled to keep up the rank and splendour suitable to his high birth and exalted station. The consequence of this grant has been, to vest the duchy in the Prince of Wales from the moment of his birth. The Prince of Wales is born Duke of Cornwall, entitled to livery of possession from the moment of his birth, and is declared of full age, with regard to the revenues of the duchy, from that instant. Such being the nature and the operation of the grant,” adds he, “must it not appear rather extraordinary, that the King should be entitled to hold the revenues of the duchy till the Prince is of age, without being under any necessity of rendering an account of them? Yet doubts have been entertained upon this point by men of supereminent legal talents and erudition; but with all the weight so justly due to these authorities, he could not bring himself to believe that they had ever pronounced a decided opinion upon the matter.

“One doubt was, whether the King, as guardian of his children, had not a just claim upon the revenues of the duchy?—This, however, was soon abandoned: for it was understood that guardianship in chivalry applies only to nonage; and this unfair and oppressing principle of guardianship was abolished by the act of Charles II. Another doubt was, whether the King by his prerogative, or some other attribute, was not entitled to receive the revenues of the duchy?—But if there be any thing of prerogative in this, it must arise out of the grant itself. That this is not the fact, will appear from a reference to the several reigns that have succeeded Edward III. Upon the demise of the Black Prince, his son, afterwards Richard II., had livery of possession of the duchy. When Henry IV. ascended the throne, his son had livery of possession, although then only ten years of age. Henry V. died abroad, when his son was no more than eight years of age, and therefore there was no time to give him livery of possession. But the reign of Edward IV. affords by far the most decisive case. In the year 1453, the birth of his eldest son, afterwards Henry VI., took place; and in the year 1455 an act was passed, stating, that as he was born Duke of Cornwall, and

as he had right of possession, there should be delivered to him (as to his eldest son) the lands, rents, and revenues of the duchy, that he might enjoy the same in as full a manner as they had been enjoyed by his predecessor Edward the Black Prince. The act then recites, that as he was under age he should have certain persons to act for him; and enacts, that from the 12th of November 1455, the King should have the rents and revenues of the duchy, until the Prince shall attain the age of fourteen, deducting certain sums to be applied to purposes specified in the act.

“But in the year 1759, the council of the Prince presented a petition to the King, complaining that the duchy had been materially dismembered, and praying that, as his son was Duke of Cornwall, and as such was entitled to the rents of the duchy, he may enjoy those rents and revenues in as complete a manner as they have been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. This petition was moreover stated to be a petition of right—it was discussed in parliament, and with the advice of parliament the King acquiesced in its prayer.

“What,” says Mr. Sutton, “is the legitimate inference to be drawn from this precedent? Evidently that the King has no prerogative that empowered him to receive those rents; for, if vested with such a prerogative, why make any application to parliament?”

After stating this and other cases in a strong and perspicuous manner, more especially the precedent in the reign of George II., the subject of this memoir observed, that in bringing forward the present question his Royal Highness was actuated by a laudable motive, which was: “that he might stand well in the eyes of the public; and shew, that if his rights had been duly acknowledged, he should have been no burden to the people; and that his expences, whether incurred prudently or otherwise, would all have fallen upon himself.”

He then moved for a committee of enquiry; which  
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having been seconded by Sir Ralph Milbank, Bart. knight of the shire for the county palatine of Durham, a long debate ensued; when the question was got rid of, by the minister's moving for the "order of the day," so that no final decision took place on the merits. On a division, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had only a majority of 57; there being 160 for, and 103 against his proposition.

Soon after this (towards the latter end of 1802), Mr. Sutton was nominated Solicitor-General to the King, on which occasion he underwent the customary ceremony of knighthood; and we find him acting cordially with the administration at the head of which Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) had been placed. On the 13th of February 1803, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, swayed doubtless by late occurrences, moved the order of the day for resolving into a committee of the whole House, "to take into consideration his Majesty's most gracious message, recommending the present situation of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the attention of the House." On this Sir Thomas Sutton arose, and observed, "that although he ceased to have the honour of being in the service of the Prince of Wales, yet he had the cordial satisfaction of retaining, what to his mind was much more valuable—the confidence of his Royal Highness. In stating to the House," continued he, "the sentiments of the Prince of Wales, I am desirous to express in the strongest terms his sincere and unfeigned gratitude to his Majesty for the interest he has been  
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pleased to take in what regards the dignity and comforts of his Royal Highness's situation, evinced as it has been in the gracious message that has been sent to this House. I am also desirous to state in terms no less strong, that his Royal Highness submits with the utmost cheerfulness to the wisdom and justice of the House, which he is convinced will direct their proceedings in whatever resolution they may adopt with respect to the present subject.

“Notwithstanding what has been thrown out, relating to the diversity of legal opinions, I feel no hesitation in still maintaining that the claims of his Royal Highness were too firmly established to be shaken by any opinion which might be brought forward to invalidate them. I am free to assure the committee, that I fear no results from the prosecution of the right, but those which might unfortunately lead to a difference between His Majesty and his eldest son; and it was by that consideration that his Royal Highness was solely influenced.

“I have now, sir, one word more to mention, unconnected with and unauthorised by the Prince. When this subject was submitted last session to the consideration of the House, I then stated, that however great the expences incurred by the heir-apparent had been, it was impossible for any person to say that they had fallen upon the public. Let me now repeat that statement, and I do it with greater confidence, as it is founded in fact. Let those who are inclined to doubt it consider the material difference which exists between the present and former times, between the situation of his Royal Highness and that of his illustrious predecessor! Let them compare the present with the past; let them form a fair estimate between the difference of expenditure arising from the great alteration in the value of money, and the price of provisions! If any gentleman will take the trouble of entering into a comparative review and calculation of these subjects, he will find a satisfactory apology for the debts contracted by the Prince of Wales. Having made these observations,

and being impressed with a lively sense of the splendour which should characterize the dignified situation of the heir-apparent, I feel that they will justify me in the vote which I have to give for the proposition submitted to the committee by my right honourable friend."

With this public act of dignified consistency may be said to have closed the political career of the subject of this article; for, on the resignation of Sir Beaumont Hotham in the month of January 1805, he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, as one of the three Barons of the Exchequer, who soon after enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding a brother nominated archbishop of that see, in which one of his uncles had formerly held a prebendal stall.

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### CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS.

THE character of a soldier, in all ages and countries, has been considered as at once imposing and respectable. Among the fierce Iroquois, the stern Mohawks, and the sprightly Chippawaws, the chief who presides in peace directs also in war, and acts both as a judge and a military leader. In a more polished state of society, we witness nearly the same union of professions, and delight to behold the senators of Athens and of Rome throwing off the dress of the warrior, to assume that of the magistrate.

In our own parliament we possess legislators who have distinguished themselves alike in the senate and the field; and many of our country gentlemen, who as lords of manors would have been summoned thither

among

among the lesser barons in a former age, after serving in the militia, the navy, and the army, in the present still continue to take a respectable part in public affairs, by gratuitously enforcing the statutes in their own immediate vicinity.

Every British officer cannot indeed assist either in the formation or administration of the laws of their country; and it must be confessed that the idea of withdrawing from the service must prove irksome, if the evening of life be not cheered by some occupation or amusement that will remove the languor incident to declining health, afford comfort to the mind which has at length taken refuge from the bustle of the world in retreat, and furnish solace to the wounded spirit, unable perhaps to obtain the consolation of relatives who may be distant, or of friends who are no more.

The present critical and unsettled state of Europe, by proving unpropitious to education, threatens greatly to abridge the circle of human happiness. Every man—nay every boy is a soldier. Young soldiers too are unfortunately now in vogue; and in respect to this numerous and useful class of citizens, a worse than Cimmerian darkness threatens to involve their minds in eternal night. In the *old school*, many of the officers of the army had been members of our universities, and wore the academic gown, before they were clothed in regimentals. Long intervals of peace enabled them to refresh their minds by foreign travel, and even in the camp they did not disdain to mingle study with the profession of arms. But France,

which for a century has set the fashions, not only in respect to dress, but matters of far greater importance,—that France which we most cordially detest and imitate, now teaches us to unveil the beauties of our females to the glare of day, and transfer our male children from the arms of the nurse to the superintendence of the drill serjeant !

Without considering that among the ancients, to whom we might still look without a blush for examples, the laurels entwined around the head of the conqueror not unfrequently concealed his baldness, and that for one stripling like the younger Scipio, there were a hundred leaders of mature age, such as Fabius, we have been seduced by a few brilliant modern examples ; and because the heroes of Hohenlinden, Fleurus, and Marengo, were young, forget that those of Cannæ, Pharsalia, Blenheim, Rosbach, and Aboukir, were men matured by age and experience.

It is to be hoped that the nation will soon recover from this delusion, and that a regular education will once more be considered as the foundation of future excellence. Then those years, now consumed in learning the *lock-step*, and in marching in conformity to the pendulum, and the wooden *measure*, to slow, fast, and double-fast time (the mere mechanism of war), will be employed to better purpose, and we shall see its great precepts deduced from history, while its principles are regularly taught by means of geometry. We shall then no longer hear it uttered as a reproach, that “ our lieutenant-colonels are again sent

to school ;" on the contrary, those only who have not been there, will be considered as contemptible. If happily such a time shall arrive, literature will then be cultivated with as much zeal as in those days when Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, and Homer as much esteemed in the English ranks as in the camp of Alexander. Then will the sword of the warrior, as of old, be entwined during peace with myrtle and bays, while those who in their youth have fought the battles of their country, may either woo the Muses in their old age, or, aspiring to become historians, faithfully and elegantly describe those actions in which they have borne a conspicuous part.

Captain Thomas Morris, the subject of this memoir, is a native of the north of England. His family for three generations had been bred to the profession of arms, and by turns possessed commissions in the 17th foot. His grandfather was introduced by his relation Sir Matthew Brydges, the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and at length obtained the command of that regiment, after the lapse of many years. Happening to be wounded during Queen Anne's wars, he determined to retire on half-pay. Happily he possessed a small landed property in the north, called Bell-Bridge ; else this provision, although of the same numerical amount then as now, would even at that period have been hardly sufficient for the maintenance of eighteen children ! The father of Captain Morris, who was born there, entered the army at the age of fourteen as an ensign, at length obtained the rank of captain, and died some

years after at Cork, when about to become a field-officer in the 17th regiment of foot. A younger brother was fortunate enough to obtain the rank of a lieutenant-colonel some time after in the same battalion.

Thomas Morris, of whom we are now about to treat, was born in the city of Carlisle, in the year 1732, and received the rudiments of his education at the head school, whither he was sent at the age of seven. At nine he repaired to Winchester College, and, as he then aimed at a learned profession, continued there for the space of six years. At the end of this period, the original intention respecting his future destiny being altered, he was carried by his father to London for the benefit of the polish afforded by a great metropolis. While there, the best masters were selected for his instruction; and in addition to the French language, which was not then so generally cultivated as at present, he acquired a knowledge of mathematics, and the less grave but perhaps no less necessary accomplishments of dancing and fencing. Having thus united the solid advantages of the scholar with the showy acquirements of the fine gentleman, he obtained a pair of colours by purchase, in what might at that period be termed the *family-regiment*, at the age of sixteen, and he joined it in Ireland, on its return from Minorca, in the year 1748.

We are unacquainted with the occupations either civil or military of Ensign Morris during this period, a trip to Paris in 1753 only excepted; but we learn

learn that he embarked with his battalion for America, in the year 1757. That continent of course presented a new world, both to the eye and the mind of our young soldier, who by this time had obtained a lieutenancy. The contest undertaken in consequence of a jealousy that a neighbouring power wished to overwhelm those very colonies by force of arms, which she afterwards helped to liberate by the arts of diplomacy and of war, now intervened. A former William Pitt, by first conciliating the people, and then wielding the whole democracy of England, with his uplifted arm smote the monarchy of France prostrate for a while, and, by thus paralysing the trunk, was enabled to lop off the extremities at pleasure. Even after he was forced in an evil hour to withdraw, his plans continued to be followed up; so that his genius seemed for a while still to preside over our councils; and had peace been made either during his administration, or on his terms, there can be little doubt but that Europe would have presented a less sinistrous aspect, at this present moment, than that which we now behold.

In the interim, Lieutenant Morris was destined to see active service for the first time, and look both death and disease in the face. His regiment being one of those drafted for the West Indies, he was present at the siege of the Havannah, as well as at the descent on Martinique, in which island his knowledge of the French tongue proved not a little useful to him.

About this period he obtained a company; and

having returned to America, he became Commandant of Niagara, which appeared to be a very strong post on paper ; but the fact is, that the parapets were tumbling down, while the ninety pieces of cannon placed on them, being all honeycombed, might have proved more formidable to the garrison than the enemy. During his residence there, he made frequent excursions into the woods, and along the rivers and lakes which every where intersect those vast and interesting regions. He was thus enabled to contemplate nature on a great scale, at Detroit and Michælemachinack, while at the Fall of Niagara he beheld one of the most wonderful scenes displayed on the face of the whole terraqueous globe.

Not content with viewing it at a distance, like the generality of travellers, or being only wetted with its moisture, like Volney, and those who deem themselves more intrepid than common,—with a hardihood of adventure he descended the huge rocks that separate the precipitated stream from the spectator, and, by scrambling over disjointed projections, contrived, during a favourable opportunity, to place himself, at the imminent danger of his life, under a branch of the immense arch of waters, and thus perform what has scarcely been achieved either before or since.

Nor ought it to be omitted, that while on the Trans-atlantic continent, with a view of proving useful to the service, he engaged in an enterprise possessing all the interest without any of the safety of romance, which subjected him to infinite vexation and

and fatigue, exposed him frequently to death, and at one period to the most imminent danger of torture. The following brief outline of this little episode of course demands a place here :

General Bradstreet, after the surrender of Canada, having determined to send an officer for the express purpose of taking possession of the Illinois country in the name of his Britannic Majesty, looked around for a gentleman possessed of the necessary talents and spirit for this undertaking, and Captain Morris was at length fixed upon. A French prisoner of the name of Godefroi, who had forfeited his existence, and expected to be executed for treason, being acquainted with all the Indian languages, was considered as a proper person to act as a guide. He was accordingly sent for, and upon this express condition received both life and liberty, which he afterwards merited in consequence of his tried fidelity and experience, having conducted himself with uncommon address and courage. To transcribe the very interesting journal afterwards drawn up by our traveller, would lead too much into detail. It cannot however but afford satisfaction to become acquainted with the particulars of two hair-breadth escapes from certain destruction, in his own language :

“ Having received proper powers and instructions, I set out in good spirits from Cedar Point, in Lake Erie, on the 26th of August, 1764, about four o'clock in the afternoon, at the same time that the army proceeded for Detroit. My escort consisted of Godefroi, and another Canadian, two servants, twelve Indians our allies, and five Mohawks, with a boat, in which were our provisions, who were to attend us to the Swifts of the Miamis river, about ten leagues distant, and then return to the army. I  
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had with me likewise Warsong, the great Chippawaw chief, and Attawang, an Uttawaw chief, with some other Indians of their nations, who had come the same day to our camp with proposals of peace. We lay that night at the mouth of the Miamis river.

“The next day (27th) we arrived at the Swifts, six leagues from the mouth of the river, and the Uttawaw chief sent to his village for horses. Soon after a party of young Indians came to us on horseback; and the two Canadians and myself having mounted, we proceeded, together with the twelve Indians my escort, who were on foot, and marched in the front, the chief carrying English colours towards the village, which was two leagues and a half distant.

“On our approaching it, I was astonished to see a great number of white flags flying; and, passing by the encampment of the Miamis, while I was admiring the regularity and contrivance of it, I heard a yell, and found myself surrounded by Pondiac’s army, consisting of six hundred savages, with tomahawks in their hands, who beat my horse, and endeavoured to separate me from my Indians, at the head of whom I had placed myself, on our discovering the village.

“By their malicious smiles, it was easy for me to guess their intention of putting me to death. They led me up to a person, who stood advanced before two slaves (prisoners of the Panis nation, taken in war, and kept in bondage), who had arms, himself holding a fusée with the butt on the ground. By his dress, and the air he assumed, he appeared to be a French officer: I afterwards found that he was a native of Old France, had been long in the regular troops as a drummer, and that his war-name was St. Vincent. This fine-dressed, half-French, half-Indian figure desired me to dismount; a bear-skin was spread on the ground, and St. Vincent and I sat upon it, the whole Indian army, circle within circle, standing round us. Godefroi sat at a little distance from us; and presently came Pondiac, and squatted himself, after his fashion, opposite me.

“This Indian possessed a more extensive power than ever was known among that people; for every chief used to command his own tribe; but eighteen nations, by French intrigue, had been  
brought

brought to unite, and chuse this man for their commander, after the English had conquered Canada; having been taught to believe that, aided by France, they might make a vigorous push, and drive us out of North America. Pondiac asked me in his language, which Godefroi interpreted, 'whether I was come to tell lies, like the rest of my countrymen?' He said, 'that Onontseo (the French king) was not crushed, as the English had reported, but had got upon his legs again,' and presented me a letter from New Orleans, directed to him, written in French, full of the most improbable falsehoods, though beginning with a truth.

"At length Pondiac made a speech to the chiefs, who wanted to put me to death, which does him honour; and shews that he was acquainted with the law of nations: 'We must not,' said he, 'kill ambassadors: do we not send them to the Flatheads, our greatest enemies, and they to us? Yet these are always treated with hospitality.'

"The following day (29th) the Mohawk, who commanded the Indians in the provision-bout, stole away, without taking my letter to General Bradstreet, as he had been ordered, having the night before robbed us of almost every thing, and sold my rum (two barrels) to the Uttawaws. The greater part of the warriors got drunk; and a young Indian drew his knife and made a stroke at me; but Godefroi seized his arm, threw him down, and took the knife from him. He certainly saved my life; for I was sitting, and could not have avoided the blow, though I saw it coming.

"And now, having purchased three horses, and hired two canoes to carry our little baggage, I set out once more, having obtained Pondiac's consent, for the Illinois country, with my twelve Indians, the two Canadians, one servant, St. Vincent's two slaves, and the little chief's son and nephew.

"After stopping at a village of the Uttawaws, we continued our route towards the Miamis country, putting our baggage into the canoes; but the greater part of us went by land, as the water was so shallow, that those who worked the canoes were frequently obliged to wade and drag them along. We met an Indian and his wife in a canoe returning from hunting, and bought  
plenty

plenty of venison ready dressed, some turkeys, and a great deal of dried fish, for a small quantity of powder and shot.

"The following day (3d) we were overtaken by Pondiac's nephew and two other young Uttawaws, who, with the Chippawaws before mentioned, made the party twenty four.

"On the 5th we met an Indian on a handsome white horse, which had been General Braddock's, and had been taken ten years before, when that General was killed on his march to Fort du Quesne, afterwards called Fort Pitt, on the Ohio.

"On our arrival at the Miamis fort, the chiefs assembled, and passed me by, when they presented the pipe of friendship; on which I looked at Godefroi, and said: '*Mauvais augure pour moi*' (A bad omen for me).

"After remaining some time, two Indian warriors, one of whom was called Visenlair, with tomahawks in their hands, seized me, one by each arm; on which I turned to Godefroi, the only one who had not left me, and cried out to him, seeing him stand motionless and pale: '*Eh bien! Vous m'abandonnez donc?*' (Well then! You give me up?) He answered: '*Non, mon capitaine, je ne vous abandonnerai jamais,*' (No, my captain, I will never give you up;) and followed the Indians, who pulled me along to the water-side, where I imagined they intended to put me into a canoe; but they dragged me into the water. I concluded their whim was to drown me, and then scalp me; but I soon found my mistake, the river being fordable. They led me on till we came near their village; and there they stopped and stripped me. They could not get off my shirt, which was held by the wristbands, after they had pulled it over my head, and in rage and despair I tore it off myself. They then bound my arms with my sash, and drove me before them to a cabin, where was a bench, on which they made me sit.

"And now every one was preparing to act his part in torturing me. The usual modes of torturing prisoners are applying hot stones to the soles of the feet, running hot needles into the eyes, which latter cruelty is generally performed by the women, and shooting arrows, and running and pulling them out of the sufferer, in order to shoot them again and again: this is generally done by  
the

the children. The torture is often continued two or three days, if they can contrive to keep the prisoner alive so long. It may easily be conceived what I must have felt at the thought of such horrors which I was to endure. I recollect perfectly what my apprehensions were. I had not the smallest hope of life; I remember that I conceived myself as it were going to plunge into a gulf, vast, immeasurable; and that, in a few moments after, the thought of torture occasioned a sort of torpor and insensibility; I looked at Godefroi, and seeing him exceedingly distressed, I said what I could to encourage him: but he desired me not to speak. I supposed that it gave offence to the savages, and therefore was silent. At this critical moment Pacanne, king of the Miamis nation, and just out of his minority, having mounted a horse, and crossed the river, rode up to me.

“When I heard him calling out to those about me, and felt his hand behind my neck, I thought he was going to strangle me out of pity: but he untied me, saying (as it was afterwards interpreted to me), ‘I give that man his life. If you want meat (for they sometimes eat their prisoners), go to Detroit, or upon the lake (meaning, Go face your enemies the English), and you’ll find enough. What business have you with this man’s flesh, who is come to speak to us?’

“I fixed my eyes stedfastly on this young man, and endeavoured by looks to express my gratitude. An Indian then presented to me his pipe; and I was dismissed by being pushed rudely away. I made what haste I could to a canoe, and passed over to the fort, having received on my way a smart cut of a switch from an Indian on horseback. Mr. Levi, a Jew trader, and some soldiers who were prisoners, came to see me. Two very handsome young Indian women came likewise, seemed to compassionate me extremely, and asked Godefroi a thousand questions. If I remember right, they were the young king’s sisters. Happy Don Quixote, attended by princesses!

“At length, after a multitude of difficulties, we arrived at an English post, where I immediately sent an express to General Bradstreet, to warn him of the dangerous situation he was in, being advanced up Sandusky river, and surrounded by treacherous Indians. The moment he received my letter he removed, falling  
down

down the river till he reached Lake Erie; by this means he disappointed their hopes of surprising his army.

“If I could have completed the tour intended, viz. from Detroit to New Orleans, thence to New York, and thence to Detroit again, whence I set out, it would have been a circuit little short of five thousand miles.”

While in America, Captain Morris lived in great intimacy with General Montgomery, who was his companion and fellow-soldier for some years: that Montgomery, who with great talents for war, and a mind that bespoke the hero, united an ardent desire of celebrity, and fell, according to the opinion of some of his admirers, as gloriously in America as Hampden his countryman had done in England\*.

The seeds of that cause in which he afterwards most zealously engaged, began now to spring into existence: it originated, as is well known, in the attempt to tax our *unrepresented* colonies; soon after which, the most loyal portion perhaps of the whole empire, during the administration of Lord Chatham, appeared in open revolt, in consequence of the short-sighted policy of his feeble and contemptible successors.

Captain Morris, who had beheld the colonists taking arms, and fighting side by side with the British regulars against the common enemy, returned to England in 1767, after witnessing a most astonishing reverse; for, in the course of a short

\* “Montgomery falls! — Let no fond heart repine  
That Hampden’s glorious fate, great chief, was thine!  
Alike shall freedom consecrate thy name,” &c.

but eventful period, he beheld twenty-four regiments in revolt; at the same time, a general Indian war; all the British provinces, one only excepted, in a state of insurrection; and the very slaves of the southern states, as if unconscious of their own chains, vociferating "Liberty, property, and no stamp-act!"

In 1769, two years after his return to his native country, having felt a desire to settle in life, he married Miss Chubb, the daughter of a respectable merchant at Bridgewater in Somersetshire, by whom he had six children, one of whom is now serving as a captain at Ceylon. On this occasion he left his regiment in the city of Cork, the very place where he had first joined it; and thus retired, after an active life of twenty-one years, which would now qualify an officer for the rank of lieutenant-general, without having attained a majority in the usual gradations of service.

Having thus closed his military career, it may not be deemed improper to consider the subject of this memoir in a different point of view. When a student at Winchester, he appears first to have imbibed a taste for letters, without which, if the latter portion of his life had not been rendered dull, dreary, and monotonous, it would at least have proved less tolerable and less pleasant both to himself and his friends. It was, and still is customary, we believe, to have recitations of verse at this college at certain stated periods. When no more than twelve, he distinguished

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stinguished himself on one of those occasions by his readings, and was afterwards *borrowed* by the different chambers.

On his return to the paternal mansion, he brought his taste for the classics along with him, which, instead of affording pleasure to his father, seemed to render him dissatisfied ; for he had conceived an idea, that but one language ought to be acquired by a British officer, and that language was French. He therefore appeared very uneasy whenever he saw a Greek book in the hand of his son, and at length insisted on his visiting the continent ; exacting at the same time a promise to obtain a thorough knowledge of his favourite tongue before his return.

Captain Morris accordingly repaired to Paris, at the age of twenty-one, having obtained leave of absence for that purpose while at Kinsale. Immediately on his arrival, with all due filial attention, he set himself earnestly to work, to fulfil the intentions of his father ; and knowing that French was pronounced with peculiar grace and purity on the stage, he frequented either the play or opera-house every night. This circumstance also inspired him with a taste for theatrical performances ; and he began from that moment to speak and write relative both to the drama and the *dramatis personæ*, with no small share of critical acumen.

“ The player,” says he, in a letter to a friend, “ most resembling Garrick of all I have seen, was Le Kain. He was of a small stature, like Garrick, but inferior to him in voice, face, and shape. He had much of his imitation : like him, too, he always went beyond

yond nature ; but his recitation was greatly superior to that of Garrick ; though in this he was excelled by a contemporary, La Noue.

“ Du Menil, who appeared with him, eclipsed him by her acting, but by that only. I shall be pronounced very extravagant, when I declare to you, that I think tragedy was born and died with Du Menil ; and you will no doubt be amazed, when I acquaint you that I never saw her since I was twenty-one years of age. I indeed constantly attended the French theatre for fifteen months ; but, from prejudice, was so disgusted with what I saw for the three or four first weeks, that nothing but the solemn vow I had made to a father, then in his grave, that I would make myself master of the French language, could have made me persist.

“ O, unfortunate English travellers ! who, visiting Paris while Du Menil flourished, had not so strong a motive as I had to stimulate you to persevere in your attendance and attention ! If the world ever afforded me a pleasure equal to that of reading Shakspeare at the foot of a water-fall in an American desert, it was Du Menil’s performance of tragedy.

“ If Garrick was abler,” continues he, “ now and then, ‘ to snatch a grace beyond the reach of art,’ as Pope has said of writers, Du Menil had it in her power to do it whenever she pleased.

“ One actor, and one only, have I heard deliver a speech of length with any resemblance of the manner of Du Menil : I mean Mr. Pope in the character of Castalio, when he curses woman. There was that torture of mind, that energy and rapidity, which man, in the rage of disappointed love, must ever experience and use. The house felt the truth and force of the representation, and great applause ensued. I was as much pleased with the audience as with the performer, being convinced that, if tragedians would lead the way, the public would follow them to the temple of taste.”

The literary labours of the subject of this memoir would fill many volumes ; but a part only of his works has been published. Racine’s Phædra, in which he had so often seen and admired the heroine

of the French stage, still remains in manuscript, as well as the Satires of Juvenal \*, two only excepted.

Like most men who possessed any degree of sensibility, and were acquainted with the horrors of the ancient French despotism, he hailed the halcyon days, falsely, but confidently promised by the National Assembly, of which he then augured favourably:

“ Awful the sages sit, like demi-gods of old ;  
But demi gods were warriors big and bold :  
Pacific heroes these, with minds of giant mould.”

In an “ Ode addressed to the French army,” he pays the following compliment to his native land :

“ Distinguish'd Britain ! happy shore !  
Where kings and priests can cheat no more ;  
Where open'd minds mistake not false for true,  
But show respect, where most respect is due,  
And honour kings and priests alone, who virtue's paths pursue :  
In thy rich fields and flow'ry plains,  
Lord of himself the peasant reigns :  
While some the vassals of proud masters live,  
Whose av'rice scarce the means of life will give ;  
Nay, some like sheep, within their pen,  
To lands are fix'd, for lords to fleece ;  
Who prosper by the vast increase  
Of pamper'd hogs and famish'd men.

“ Thrice happy Gaul ! the golden age renew ;  
Not the poetic, but the true,  
From Albion's honour'd isle the heav'nly plan you drew ;

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\* Sat. iv. and xiv. These, with several other poetical productions, were published in a thin 8vo volume, by Ridgway, in 1791. The same bookseller also printed the life of one of his friends, with whom we are sorry to find, he does not live in the same intimacy as heretofore.

Ere yet her state corruption stain'd,  
When virtue bloom'd, and Alfred reign'd."

The same sensibility that induced Captain Morris then to take part with a nation now unhappily subdued under the iron yoke of military despotism, urged him, nearly at the same time, to declare against the slave trade. It was with this view, that in 1796 he composed and published, "*Quashy, or the Coal Black Maid,*" a Tale :

" Her eyes, like gems, beneath their brows were set ;  
Her teeth were iv'ry, and her face was jet ;  
Tall was her stature, as her shape was neat ;  
Her fingers small, and delicate her feet ;  
Then from her lips such melting accents broke,  
That drivers almost felt when Quashy spoke."

He tells us in the notes, and we believe he tells truly, that Christians are less humane than those infidels whom they affect to despise ; for " by the laws of Mahomet, no female slave can be separated from her child." He also asserts, " that the drivers, even when they do not strike, continue to crack their whips over the negroes, as carters do to keep their horses alert."

In the course of this poem, the author introduces a simile relative to the fall of Niagara, which leads to a description of an event already alluded to. Having been told that it was possible to

" Gain the proud arch by rock and water made,"  
so as to be in that situation where

" Below the torrent roars, with foam o'erspread,  
And bursting billows tumble o'er the head,"

he actually determined to make the experiment. His

friend, General Montgomery, had attempted it, and declared it was impossible to breathe there : notwithstanding this, the subject of this memoir descended, with three other gentlemen, and, after much toil and difficulty, reached the bottom of the fall. To arrive at the immense sheet that constituted the principal object of curiosity, it was necessary to rush through a small one. Two out of the three who had accompanied him, declined the achievement ; but one having promised, and kept his word, they effected their purpose, and stood entirely at their ease during the space of five minutes, “ under an arch formed on one side of hollow rock, one hundred and thirty-six feet high, and on the other of water precipitated from that rock, which arch might contain five hundred men, in a situation perfectly free from wet. The noise was stunning,” it is added, “ and the strait, as far as the eye could trace it, was nothing but a heap of foam.”

When they had stood here during five minutes, a “ whistling wind” arose, and drove the spray in their faces, in a manner that was very disagreeable, and at last intolerable. They staid on the whole ten minutes, and then retired as they went.

Captain Morris was one of the first to patronise the institution called the Literary Fund ; and when Richard III. was acted by some of the members, he undertook to personate the tyrant, for the benefit of such of his fellow labourers as did not happen to be blessed with the gifts of fortune. It was his original wish to have played Othello, but by a strange disavowal

avowal of every thing in the shape of merit, be deemed the former more suitable to his person \*.

The character of Richard requires great powers, as it is made up of dissimulation, abilities, and valour, qualifications seldom compatible with each other. To play the lover to Lady Anne, to act the hypocrite at court, and display the warrior in the field, demand a compass of voice, a variety of gesticulation, and a command of intellectual powers, seldom to be met with but in a first-rate performer.

‘ Teach not thy lip such scorn ; for it was made  
For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.  
If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,  
Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword ;  
Which, if thou please to hide in this true breast,  
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,  
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,  
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

“ Nay, do not pause, for I did kill King Henry ;  
But ’twas thy beauty that provok’d me.

\* “ But I, that am not shap’d for sportive tricks,  
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass ;  
I that am rudely stamp’d, and want love’s majesty,  
To strut before a wanton, ambling nymph ;  
I, that am curtail’d of this fair proportion,  
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature ;  
Deform’d, unfinish’d, sent before my time  
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,  
And that so lamely and unfashionably,  
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them :  
Why I, in this weak piping time of peace,  
Have no delight to pass away the time,  
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,  
And descant on my own deformity.”

Nay, now dispatch ; 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward,  
But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

[*She lets fall the sword.*]

Take up thy sword again, or take up me."

When this speech is contrasted with the following, the difficulty attendant on the undertaking will be evident ; and on this occasion it is no common praise to say, that Captain Morris, while he fulfilled a very honourable and charitable task, conducted himself so as at once to merit and ensure applause.

" Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,  
And I will stand the hazard of the die.  
I think there be six Richmonds in the field ;  
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.—  
A horse ! a horse ! my kingdom for a horse !"

It will convey no contemptible specimen of his powers of criticism, when we observe, that he has reviewed and suggested emendations to the works of Pope, the most correct of all our English poets. Nor will it afford a contemptible specimen of his learning, when we observe, that we generally find Homer open on his desk, and that he regularly reads both the Iliad and Odyssey every year.

Captain Morris at present lives with all the sequestered obscurity of a hermit, in the neighbourhood of Hampstead ; but we hope that he will soon return to the more immediate vicinity of the metropolis, and mix as heretofore with his old friends.

## CAPTAIN CHARLES MORRIS.

AN attempt has been often made to define man by his peculiarities, and the most prominent of these have accordingly been selected for that purpose. Risibility, produced by the flexibility or rather distortion of the muscles, and generally accompanied by a sudden convulsive noise, denoting merriment, is usually referred to on this occasion, by way of elucidation ; but we see no reason why the biped to whom we now allude, may not with equal propriety be designated a *singing* as well as a *laughing* animal. In the former, as in the latter case, a certain degree of *grimace* is usually adopted ; and notwithstanding mankind develop their faculties gradually, yet the one is likely to have been within a few years, and perhaps a few months, as ancient as the other.

Having said thus much respecting the antiquity of the art, it may be expected we should not omit its utility. It appears in ancient times to have been the grand and original instrument of civilization : for we are told that the ballads supposed to have been sung by Homer taught the first precepts of morals and politics to the Grecian cities, which afterwards contended for the honour of giving him birth. The effects produced by the war songs of an inhabitant of Miletus, have furnished a subject for admiration, perhaps doubt, in modern times ; and yet, wonderful as they may appear, were an invasion of this country to take place, we doubt not but that every

village would have its Tyrtæus, and the youth of England be zealous to rival, if not to surpass, those of Lacedæmon.

There are poets of another description, who, instead of affecting to legislate for whole nations, or to arouse the energies of a city or an army, are content with the more humble task of contributing to the harmless conviviality of society. It is their wish to add to the relish of the banquet by mirth, to heighten the charms of festivity by jollity, and to give a new zest to wine by entwining the "rosy bowl" with the emblems of the Lyric Muse.

Anacreon, one of these, appears to have dedicated his hours to love and wine, and no doubt was accustomed to set the table "in a roar," like some of his successors. Such of his compositions as have reached us consist wholly of amatory and bacchanalian odes. To these the subject of this memoir has added *political* songs; a species of poetry in which his precursor does not seem to have indulged. As their pursuits were thus in some measure different, we trust and firmly believe that their end will not be the same; for although they appear to have both occasionally sacrificed to the jolly god, yet we cannot suppose that the poet of England, like his precursor of Teos, will ever die by means of a grape stone, or be killed in consequence of indulging too freely in *new* wine.

Captain Charles Morris, a younger brother of the subject of the foregoing article, and one of the four sons of a captain in the army, was born in London.

His

His father was cut off when he was a boy ; and his mother, who survived her husband many years, lived until she had attained the age of ninety-five, and died in 1804.

It has already been mentioned, that no less than three generations of this family have all served in the army, and were by turns officers in the same regiment, of which one of them had the command. To this very regiment (the seventeenth foot) the subject of this memoir, after receiving a preliminary education under the superintendance of his surviving parent, was also destined, and he accordingly joined it as an Ensign in the company commanded by his brother Thomas. Whether this battalion was in Ireland or the British colonies at that period we know not ; but we are certain that Charles served some time in America, immediately before that war which ended in the independence of the United States.

On his return he obtained a commission in the Royal Irish Dragoons, and finally exchanged into the Horse-Guards\* ; where he was the contemporary

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\* An officer of the horse-guards at that period somewhat resembled the *mousquetaires* of the old monarchy in France, and like them might have exclaimed with Chapelle :

“ Nul travail obligé ne gêne mes loisirs ;  
 Je fais des vers, je bois, je chante ;  
 Je n'ai point à l'hymen asservi mes désirs ;  
 J'ai vingt mille livres de rente,  
 Bons amis, maîtresse charmante ;  
 Est-ce là du bonheur ? Sont-ce là des plaisirs ? ”

of Captain Topham and several others, who, uniting wit with their wine, most fervently invoked the

———— Goddess fair and free,  
In heav'n yclep'd Euphrosyne,  
And by men heart-easing Mirth,  
Whom lovely Venus at a birth  
With two sister Graces more  
To ivy-crowned Bacchus bore\*.

It so happened that early in life Captain Charles Morris got acquainted with a gentleman, now no more, but whose name we shall here conceal. He inherited considerable property, was well educated, possessed a satirical turn of mind, which did not perhaps render him a less pleasing companion, and was not conspicuous for any of the fashionable vices. One failing however, and that too of a very singular kind, marked his character. He was addicted to the writing of anonymous letters, and is said to have commenced this practice with his youth, and to have continued it almost to the day of his death! So powerfully was he propelled by this passion, that notwithstanding it had led him into the most disagreeable and most dangerous predicaments, yet he could not abstain from recurring to it even in respect to his friends. In company with this gentleman, and doubtless unacquainted with his favourite propensity, Captain Charles Morris took a trip to Bath—they went down both bachelors, and returned married men, and married too to widows; the former

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\* Milton's L'Allegro.

bringing up with him a clergyman's widow with a considerable jointure, and the latter Lady Stanhope, the relict of Sir William Stanhope, a gentleman nearly related to the Chesterfield family. Soon after this his *new* friend as usual discovered the *clowen foot*, and they of course parted for ever !

Captain Morris at an early period of life distinguished himself by his devotion to the muses. His father, we have been given to understand, also possessed a poetical turn, and actually composed the popular song of " Kitty Crowder."

The first productions of his youngest son, as may be supposed, were of course dedicated to love ; but his first *political song*, we believe, was written at the time of the celebrated coalition, and tended not a little to throw ridicule on the ill-starred alliance between Mr. Fox and Lord North ; on which occasion Mr. Pitt emphatically undertook to forbid " the banns," although he afterwards profited not a little by the marriage. We are chiefly induced to mention this circumstance, in consequence of its having been lately mentioned as a reproach ; but surely every candid mind must allow that many of the best friends of liberty disapproved of the conduct of " the Man of the People" upon this occasion ; while it must be at the same time conceded, that some of his most zealous supporters at this moment were then the bitterest in their reprobation.

Of this species of songs, which were always admirably timed, we shall now proceed to give some specimens. It is not yet forgotten, that the youth  
and

and sudden elevation of the present Premier at one period constituted a very serious objection to the high official character with which he was invested. On this occasion a ballad appeared, under the title of "Billy's too young to drive us," of which we prefer to copy the first rather than the last portion.

## I.

"If life's a rough journey, as moralists tell,  
 Englishmen sure make the best on't;  
 On this spot of the earth they bade Liberty dwell,  
 Whilst Slavery holds all the rest on't.  
 They thought the best solace for labour and care  
 Was a state independent and free, Sir;  
 And this thought, tho' a curse that no tyrant can bear,  
 Is the blessing of you and of me, Sir.  
 Then while thro' this whirl-about journey we reel,  
 We'll keep unabus'd the best blessing we feel,  
 And watch ev'ry turn of the politic wheel:  
 Billy's too young to drive us.

## II.

"The car of Britannia, we all must allow,  
 Is ready to crack with its load, Sir;  
 And wanting the hand of experience, will now  
 Most surely break down on the road, Sir!  
 Then must we, poor passengers, quietly wait  
 To be crush'd by this mischievous spark, Sir,  
 Who drives a damn'd job in the carriage of state,  
 And got up like a thief in the dark, Sir?  
 Then while thro' this," &c.

The treaty of commerce with Ireland soon after furnished at once a subject and a title for another song, beginning with

"Troth, master John Bull, you're a pretty milch cow," &c.

A third,

A third, written during the former war, and sung to the tune of *Ballinamona Ora*, possesses considerable point ; and as it glanced at some of our allies, who it was thought were at that period more attached to their own individual interests than the general good, became exceedingly popular :

“ Don't you think it's a pretty political touch—  
To keep shooting your gold in the *dams of the Dutch* ?  
Sending troops to be swamp'd where they can't draw their breath ?  
And buying a load of fresh taxes with death ?

“ Then your friends, who've been sucking the sap of your skull,  
Now choose to be fed on your *fat*, MASTER BULL !  
Oh ! your whisker-mouth'd Prussian's a *bell of a bite*—  
And your eagle of Austria's a *damnable kite* !

“ Faith, your tax-burthen'd sons, John, will bless the *dark* hour  
When the war-whoop of kings and the squeakings of pow'r  
Made a nation of *Freemen* the clamour applaud—  
And load their own *necks* to chain monsters abroad.”

But it was the song of “ Billy Pitt and the Farmer” that attracted the most general attention, and continued long in fashion ; the humour reconciling even those who did not always admire the politics.

Of his miscellaneous performances, the “ Country and Town” deserves particular mention, as, in the first place, it does not contain any improper or indelicate sentiment, which, we are sorry to observe, cannot be always said of the productions of our modern lyrical poets ; and in the next, as it ridicules a country life, which we have good reason to suppose the author himself actually at this moment gives the preference to :

“ Your

“ Your jays and your magpies may chatter on trees,  
 And whisper soft nonsense in groves if they please ;  
 But a house is much more to my mind than a tree,  
 And for groves, O ! a fine grove of chimneys for me ! ”

Captain Morris some years since received the prize of the gold cup from the Harmonic Society for his Anacreontic song, *Ad Poculum*, which we shall here transcribe :

“ Come, thou soul-reviving Cup,  
 And try thy healing art ;  
 Light the fancy’s visions up,  
 And warm my wasted heart ;  
 Touch with glowing tints of bliss  
 Mem’ry’s fading dream ;  
 Give me, while thy lip I kiss,  
 The heav’n that’s in thy stream !

“ In thy fount the Lyric Muse  
 Ever dipp’d her wing,  
 Anacreon fed upon thy dew,  
 And Horace drain’d thy spring ?  
 I, too, humblest of the train,  
 There my *spirit* find,  
 Freshen there my languid brain,  
 And store my vacant mind !

“ When, blest Cup ! thy fires divine  
 Pierce through Time’s dark reign,  
 All the joys that once were mine  
 I snatch from Death again ;  
 And, though oft fond anguish rise  
 O’er my melting mind,  
 Hope still starts to Sorrow’s eyes,  
 And drinks the tear behind !

“ Ne’er, sweet Cup, was vot’ry blest  
 More through life than me ;  
 And that life, with grateful breast,  
 Thou seest I give to thee :

'Midst thy rose-wreath'd nymphs I pass  
 Mirth's sweet hours away ;  
 Pleas'd, while Time *runs thro' the glass*  
 To Fancy's brighter day !

“ Then, magic Cup, again for me  
 Thy pow'r creative try—  
 Again let hope-fed Fancy see  
 A heav'n in Beauty's eye !  
 O! lift my lighten'd heart away  
 On Pleasure's downy wing,  
 And let me taste that bliss to-day  
 To-morrow may not bring !”

The subject of this memoir has for many years past moved in the first circles, and frequented the best company. His Songs “ Political and Convivial” have passed through no less than twenty-four editions. We could wish that they had been in some places less *prurient*, and would recommend it to his serious attention to publish a volume of his poetical labours, which, while it would contribute essentially to his own reputation, might be read by a modest female without a blush.

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MR. BURR,

LATE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
 AMERICA.

ALTHOUGH America no longer appertains to the imperial crown of the British isles, yet its inhabitants are dear to us on many accounts. They

are still connected by alliance as well as by commerce; they speak the same language; live under a form of government free like our own, and are descended from the same common ancestors. Every thing relative to them is therefore both heard and read with no common share of interest in this country; and their celebrated men, such as Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, have been claimed and considered in some measure as our own.

Aaron Burr, late Vice-President of the United States, was born about the year 1755, at Princeton in New-Jersey. His father, a presbyterian clergyman, and president of the college in that place, was a man of considerable learning, and a native of Fairfield in Connecticut. His mother was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, of the last-mentioned province; a name famous in controversial theology and metaphysics, whose work on the "Freedom of the Will," and "History of Redemption," are well known in this country, and have ranked their author in the first class of the dialecticians of the last century.

So dextrous was Mr. Edwards in the use of distinctive argument, and exemplary in his life and conversation, as even to *epurate* the puritans of his country, and form among the congregationalists a new sect, to which his name has given a sort of organic consistency; they accordingly call themselves Edwardeans.

It is no part of our object to enter into the merits of this controversy, and we leave the theological grand-

father for the political grandson ; who is probably as little solicitous about the tenets of the sect as any of his contemporaries.

Mr. Burr was but an infant when his father died. The grandfather, Mr. Edwards, being nominated to succeed the elder Mr. Burr, his son-in-law, as president of the same college, he also soon after paid the debt of nature, leaving young Aaron still a child : however, having been literally born in a college, he continued there until he took his degrees according to the usual forms. This happened to be about the time that the war of independence broke out, which gave so much and such animated employment to the young men of America.

Mr. Burr, like Mr. Barlow and many others, was immediately *translated*, if we may make use of such an expression, from the college to the camp. This occurred during the campaign of 1775. His first enterprize was in the character of a volunteer in the little *corps* of Arnold, in the famous expedition to Canada ; which traversed the woods, or rather the *wilderness*, from Boston to Quebec. They arrived half famished, the latter end of November, in that northern region, without tents, provisions, horses, or artillery, in the face of a formidable fortress, and they themselves only four hundred strong ! A storm however, in addition to contrary winds, delayed the passage of the river, and alone prevented this little host from assailing, and perhaps carrying, the town when they first came in sight.

Being disappointed in this object, and having

1805-1806.

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given time to the gallant English General, Sir Guy Carleton (now Lord Dorchester), to collect his forces, and defy the menaces of these audacious invaders, they found themselves obliged to wait the arrival of Montgomery, who was expected from the upper country. This able leader made his appearance towards the close of December; his force, however, was not much superior to that of Colonel Arnold, except in artillery. When these two adventurous commanders had united their means, they found they were indeed small; but, on the other hand, they were all they had to expect!

It was the dead of winter; they must either conquer or retreat, and that too without delay. In the mean time, Mr. Burr attached himself to General Montgomery in quality of *aide-de-camp*, and the issue of their assault upon Quebec is well known. His commander and two officers of the staff were killed in the action, Arnold was wounded, and near half the troops were made prisoners in the town. The remainder retreated in confusion, but formed and fortified their little camp immediately in the neighbourhood of the place, where they still kept up a menacing countenance the rest of the winter.

Mr. Burr remained with the northern army, sharing all its fortunes; which, during the next campaign of 1776, were rather honourable than brilliant. During this time he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. But he with his fellow-soldiers had only to wait the succeeding year of 1777 for the turning of the scale.

Burr then served in the army of Gates, and was present at the action of Saratoga, in which his old chief, Arnold acted so splendid a part; and which was followed by the capture of a whole British army under Burgoyne.

After this Colonel Burr returned to his native state, New Jersey, with that part of the northern army which came to the aid of Washington during his operations in 1778 and 1779. While there, he performed some exploits as a partizan, but of no great moment in the general result of the national contest.

Some time in the year 1779 he left the army (for what particular reason we have not learned) and went to study law under Mr. Hosmer, of Connecticut. He never afterwards resumed his military profession; but, having adopted one that requires more words and less blows, he commenced his practice in the city of New York at the close of the war. And that no means might be wanting to enable him to serve his country in every duty of a good citizen, he married about the same time a very amiable woman. She was a young widow, the relict of General Prevost, a British officer, who had served and died in Florida. This lady did not live many years after her second alliance: however, she left Mr. Burr one child, a daughter, now married to Mr. Allston, of South-Carolina. She at the same time bequeathed to his care a son by her former husband, to whom Mr. Burr has the merit of having given a

good education ; and young Mr. Provost is in a fair way to make an useful citizen, by doing honour at once to his step-father and to his country.

We now proceed to follow Mr. Burr in his political career; the whole of which, from beginning to end, is worthy of record, although he is still in the full vigour of life, and but fifty years of age.

New York had been for the last seven years of the war in the hands of the English. In no city or town of America had the revolution made such a complete sweep of public men and prominent characters, especially in the profession of the law. Most of the advocates, eminent there before the war, had adhered to the royal cause, and were now withdrawn to England. Some had taken arms for the country, and perished in the conflict; others had been promoted to high judicial functions or other public stations, which precluded them from returning to the bar. In this fortunate situation of affairs a new and young man, of good talents, coming into the city with the tide of returning population, and at the exhilarating moment of peace, was sure to rank according to his ostensible merits ; and Mr. Burr, whose knowledge of the world had taught him a confidence in himself, and whose eloquence was of the brilliant and insinuating kind, was no sooner seen and heard in a court of justice, than he was recognized as standing either at or near the head of his profession.

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The Ex-Vice-President, doubtless, might have enriched himself by the practice of law, had he pursued it with diligence, and lived with economy ; but he possessed a taste for expence ; and we believe some unlucky speculations in lands, or other things foreign to his profession, have kept his fortune in a state of mediocrity, not a little mortifying to himself, ever since he began business. Another circumstance that militated against the accumulation of wealth, was the strong ambition which he evinced to figure in the higher stations of legislation and government ; employments which, in that country, can yield no profit. He was early and often elected to the legislative assembly of the state, and several times delegated to congress ; and, for a man who had no trace of family connexion in the state where he lived, and who had no fortune either to stand in the place of merit, or to help to set it off, his success in rising to the highest and most confidential posts, is surely no small proof of talent, if not of virtue.

In a country where the people are accustomed to reason freely on the principles and practice of government, and where there is no impediment to making or mending the laws, at the volition of the majority, there exists an obvious cause of division into two parties ; without ascribing any unworthy motive to the leaders of either. One class of reasoners, from a natural indolence or timidity of temper, discovers infinite inconveniences in a republican form of government ; and will accordingly advise the people to withdraw themselves entirely from the ex-

ercise of their rights, and take refuge in a monarchy, or in some other form that shall place the spring of action out of themselves; thus liberating the great mass of citizens from all manner of care, that of obedience alone excepted. The other class, conscious of more courage and energy in their own minds, and foreseeing the inevitable abuses of power in hands that feel themselves above controul, are eager to inculcate into the people the wisdom of having a constant eye upon their own affairs, the danger of placing unlimited confidence in beings to the full as frail and corruptible as themselves, and the necessity of constant caution in the delegation of authority; inferring that it always should be done with prudence, for short periods, and for well defined objects alone.

Parties similar to these manifested themselves in England soon after the revolution of 1688, and have since been designated by the distinctive appellations of Whigs and Tories. Not many years of independence had passed over the United States, before we perceive strong traces of the same division of characters there, but disguised under different names. At the head of the federal party (which we should call Tory) were John Adams, Jay, and a number of the celebrated and highly respected leaders of the revolution itself. Among the chief of their opponents was a host of patriots equally distinguished for their talents, and venerated for their virtues; such as Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Clinton, &c. Washington was then at the head of the government; and the federalists, by some dexterous management, which

it is not to our purpose to detail in this article, succeeded in engaging him to become their head.

The name of this great man gave a prodigious *eclat* to the side that he joined ; so great was their triumph and so loud the noise, that a person ignorant of the interior state of that country, would have concluded that the anti-federalists or Whigs had dwindled to a miserable faction. The body, however, instead of expiring as their opponents had vainly calculated, soon afforded symptoms of vigour and longevity ; and it has since convinced the world, that it at the same time comprised a great majority of the nation.

Mr. Burr acted uniformly with this republican party, even during the lowest ebb of its fortunes ; but he never possessed its confidence to that degree that some of the subsequent events would lead a distant observer to imagine. When Washington gave notice, in 1797, that he should decline serving as President for another term, the two grand divisions of Whigs and Tories began to muster their forces, each striving to nominate the new president from its own party. The former set up Jefferson as their candidate, while their opponents united in the selection of John Adams, who possessed the double advantage of being the Vice-President with Washington ; and having been an older advocate for, and more celebrated during the revolution, than his rival.

The mode of voting for President and Vice-President (which is now altered) was then a vicious one,

it being by a double and undistinguished ballot, and by no means calculated to determine the sense of the voter, in respect to which of the successful candidates was to fill the first office. That important point was left to be decided by the plurality of votes when counted at the seat of government ; so that a case might happen when a man would become President against the will of every voter. For, suppose a majority intended that *Paul* should be President, and *Peter* Vice-President ; but it happens that the number of voters who intend that *Peter* shall be Vice-President, is one more than those who intend *Paul* shall be President ; in that case the order intended by the voters is reversed : *Peter* is President, and *Paul* Vice-President. Now these two offices in themselves are extremely distinct and dissimilar : the one being charged with the whole of the executive government of the country ; the other is nothing more than president of the senate, charged to preside in their debates, and possessing less power than the speaker of the English House of Commons.

This being the constitutional mode of naming to those two places, the importance, in the view of each party, of supporting its own candidate for Vice-President, was nearly equal to that which respected the President. Had it been otherwise, the Whigs, who fixed on Jefferson for President, would have been contented that Adams should be Vice-President, and might have voted for him accordingly ; while the friends of Adams might have reversed the order with respect to Jefferson. But in the state of things that  
then

then prevailed, such a project would have been dangerous to the designs of both. It was necessary that the anti-federalists should have such a candidate for Vice-President, as the other party would not vote for, and thus guard against his being President.

Another circumstance likewise deserves attention in respect to America. There is a little state jealousy, as well as local propriety, which must not be overlooked. If the first magistrate is taken from the south, the second should, if possible, be selected from the north. Jefferson was from Virginia ; it became necessary therefore for the Whigs to look towards a different region for their other candidate. All these reasons, and others which might be here enumerated, induced them to fix on Burr ; although there was not a single man in all America who would have voted for his being President ; and very few who, on the simple score of relative merit, would have preferred him to many others as Vice-President. There seemed to be a sort of necessity on this occasion for setting him up ; and this circumstance, which raised him for a while, perhaps, above the standard of real estimation in which he was generally held, has been the cause of his present downfall ; and has finally reduced him to a situation from which, perhaps, it will be not a little difficult for him again to raise himself to the level to which his talents fully entitle him.

In consequence of the circumstances alluded to above, he was coupled with Jefferson in 1797, and the Whigs voted for him in the character we have already pointed out ; but, notwithstanding their efforts,

he proved unsuccessful ; for Adams was declared first magistrate, and Jefferson second. But, at the end of the constitutional term of four years, the election of 1801 occurred, and both the Whig candidates, Jefferson and Burr, were returned.

It was on this occasion that he was afterwards accused of practices which, if true, at once savoured of ingratitude and injustice ; and ought, in the estimation of both federalists and anti-federalists, to deprive him of all future confidence.

In the undistinguished mode in which votes were given at that time, it was intended that all who nominated Jefferson should include him also ; but it was said, and generally believed, that he set a friend at work to procure one vote to be thrown away from Jefferson on some indifferent person, in order that the number for himself might exceed that for his colleague, and he be declared President, and Jefferson Vice-President, against the intention of all the voters, and the whole country ! The project, however, did not ultimately succeed, although it proved more fortunate than it deserved ; but the general opinion (whether false or true), that he intended to raise himself by such a flagrant conduct, has had the effect to sink him very low in the public esteem ; so that the four years of his presiding in the senate, which are now expired, have been rather endured than relished by an indignant people, who deemed themselves grossly insulted.

This decline of popularity produced another disastrous event, with which we shall close this account  
of

of Mr. Burr. Seeing no chance of being again elected to an office that required the general confidence of the United States, and having several friends in New York who did not believe him guilty of the improper conduct laid to his charge, he declared himself candidate for Governor of that State in 1804. In this, however, the Vice-President did not succeed, being opposed by the greater part of the Whigs, and by all the Tories. During the canvas previous to the election, it seems that General Hamilton, a leading man among the federalists, had made some free observations on the political and moral character of the subject of this memoir, probably with a view to defeat his election.

It was some time after, and through the channel of a newspaper, that these animadversions became known to Mr. Burr, who then, from one of the most unaccountable opinions that have distorted the faculties of human reason in civilized life, thought it necessary to call the General to a personal account: that is, to decide a point of respectability between two men, by firing pistols at each other!

Mr. Hamilton, an active and highly distinguished officer in the American army, was present in many battles during the conflict with England, and had obtained a great military reputation\*. Burr, on the

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\* The late Alexander Hamilton was descended from a respectable Scotch family, settled for some centuries in the county of Ayr. His grandfather, Alexander Hamilton, of Grange, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Robert Pollok, of Pollok, in Renfrewshire,

other hand, had been a leader during the audacious assault upon Quebec, and had distinguished himself

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frewshire, by whom he had a numerous progeny. In consequence of the feudal laws, which confer all on the eldest, the General's father, who happened to be a fourth son, was of course obliged to seek his fortune abroad. He accordingly removed to the West Indies, and having settled in the island of St. Vincent, married an American lady.

Alexander, the fruit of this alliance, was sent to his mother's relations at New York, for his education; and having been placed at Columbia College, in that State, made great progress in his studies.

The war having commenced while he was in one of the upper classes, like many other school-boys, he became ambitious to distinguish himself; and, having made some progress in mathematics, he determined to apply himself to that branch of tactics more immediately connected with geometry.

Having accordingly raised a company of matrosses, or artillery men, Captain Hamilton took the field, and conducted himself in such a manner as to obtain the notice of the Commander-in-chief. In consequence of this he was taken into General Washington's family as an aide-de-camp, and served under him until the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army rendered all the hopes and efforts of England unavailing.

Some irregularities, in respect to the fair sex, somewhat abated the confidence reposed in this officer, and are said by his enemies to have embued him, at a late period of his life, with a partiality for a form of government different from that of his adopted country, in which a looser texture of morals might not be likely to prove any obstacle to the pursuits of rank and consequence.

After he had become a colonel, it fell to his lot to storm one of the English redoubts at York Town, with a body of Americans, while La Fayette, at the head of the French, was to attack the other. On this occasion the Commander-in-chief, by way of punishing him for his *amours*, discovered an inclination to con-

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on other occasions in the service of his country. It was not, therefore, a question of courage between the

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fer this honour on another field-officer; on which Hamilton<sup>2</sup> instantly flew to head-quarters, and urged his claims with such effect that he was at length gratified.

At the close of the war he betook himself to the practice of the law, in which he made a brilliant figure, as well as in the legislature of the state of New York, and the congress of the United States.

He at this time wrote his 'Phocion,' a work which, like all his other performances, discovered a strong mind, enriched by application to study.

He made great efforts to conciliate the citizens of the United States with those royalists who remained in America at the evacuation of New York; for his politics were always of the liberal east. By this means he rendered essential service to his country, by increasing the number at least of its citizens; and obtained for himself the esteem and affection of those who had been opposed to him in politics while the contest lasted.

At the promulgation of the new constitution, he is said to have united with Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison in publishing the work called "The Federalist."

But although it be difficult to say whether he shone most in the character of a soldier, a lawyer, or a politician, his arrangement of the finances of the United States has been the subject of the highest and most general commendation. It will scarcely be credited by the next generation, that a debt, which was selling in the market at the depreciated rate of 12½ per cent. should be raised by his administration to 140—an extreme price, to be sure, at which it did not stand long; but at 120, millions were sold even in London; and from that day to the present no debt in Europe has maintained or deserved a better credit.

His report on this subject to the House of Representatives will remain at all times a monument of that versatility of genius, by which he was enabled to combine the drudgery of official detail with the luminous ideas of general policy; and it will be remembered,

two gentlemen, for no man could ever doubt that quality in either of them. It was then a point of veracity;

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bered, to his honour, of which he had the highest notions, that his fingers were never soiled by any personal gain in these transactions, which offered so great and evident an opportunity, and by which his country was so much enriched.

With such talents, and a firm and energetic manner of announcing his opinions, General Hamilton did not wholly escape censure; for an imbecile effort was made to soil his character in the public view, and to fix upon it that stigma which he most despised. In repelling the charge of corruption, he boldly admitted that of gallantry; not indeed that he seduced, but was seduced, for his name was Alexander, and not Joseph! If he were only pelted on this occasion by him that was without sin, his head would not have been so bruised but that a mitre might fit it; but it was placing a powerful weapon in the hands of his enemies in a country whose manners are not quite so refined as in some parts of Europe; and many of his friends regretted his avowal of the fact, notwithstanding the robe of gallantry that was thrown over it.

On those subjects which agitated the government of the United States during the late war in Europe, when it was necessary to observe so nice a conduct to avoid insult, or rather to obtain redress for injuries received on the one hand, and to keep clear of the contest on the other, his publications under the signature of "Pacificus," had an evident tendency to calm the public mind; nor can it be doubted that his councils in the cabinet of the United States had their due weight in promoting the bloodless mode of adjusting differences without compromising the honour of the nation, in which that infant country has set an example so worthy the imitation of other states.

In his natural disposition, General Hamilton may be said to have been a man of more ambition than pride; he wished to stand prominently in the public opinion, but was not over solicitous for official situations; he quitted the secretaryship of the treasury for private life, and resumed the profession of the law for a subsistence; but there have been no great occasions in which, though  
a private

but how can this be decided by arms? Does any person in the United States, or any other states, enter-

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a private citizen, his talents have not been called forth. It is said that he had a *penchant* towards monarchy, and it is not improbable that he wished a change in the constitution, that would add something to the strength of the executive government. His manners were so condescending and sociable, that he sought information even on the subjects of his own official reports, from all ranks of citizens, with so much ease and affability, that in other times and countries he would have been a dangerous citizen.

In the year 1780 he married the second daughter of the late General Schuyler, by whom he had several children, and thus became connected with one of the most respectable families in the state.

He is not supposed to have died rich, for his expences while in public life are known to have exceeded the revenue assigned by the constitution of the United States. His practice as a lawyer was indeed lucrative; yet as he entertained a scorn for wealth, it cannot be supposed that he took the readiest way to amass riches.

The particulars of his death are hereafter enumerated; but we shall here subjoin an account of his funeral, which it will be seen was conducted in such a manner as to be connected with the *politics* of the day. It will be remarked too, that Mr. Morris, of New York, on this occasion, appears to have *re-acted* over the corpse of the General, the same scene performed by Anthony over the dead body of Cæsar at Rome, eighteen centuries ago!

In conformity to previous arrangements the procession was formed in Robinson-street, where the deceased General lay, about twelve o'clock. The following was the order: the artillery—the 6th regiment of militia—flank companies—Cincinnati Society—a numerous train of clergy of all denominations—the Corpse, with pall bearers—the general's horse appropriately dressed—his children and relatives—physicians—Governor Morris, the funeral orator, in his carriage—the gentlemen of the bar—the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, in his carriage—corporation of the city of New York—resident agents of foreign powers—officers of the army and navy

tain a better opinion of the moral character of Mr. Burr for having given the challenge ; or of that of Mr. Hamilton for having accepted it ?

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navy—military and naval officers of foreign powers—militia officers of the state—the various officers of the respective banks—chamber of commerce and merchants—wardens of the port, and masters of vessels in harbour—the president, professors, and students of Columbia college—Tammany society—Mechanic society—Marine society—citizens in general.

The military marched with arms reversed, and exhibited a very splendid spectacle. Thus formed, the procession, which was numerous, extensive, and respectable, moved, with solemn step, accompanied with the awful tolling of the bells, and the firing of minute guns from the battery, through Beekman, Pearl, and White-hall streets, and up Broadway to Trinity church, where the military halted, opened to the right and left, and came to order with reversed arms. The rear of the procession marched through the avenue thus formed to the front of Trinity church, where Mr. Morris was to deliver the funeral oration to the immense concourse of assembled and anxious spectators.

Within the elegant portico of this venerable temple was erected a stage covered with a carpet, and furnished with two chairs ; one for the orator, who sat in the middle, the other for Mr. J. B. Church, a relative and executor of the deceased. Around the stage, upon the ground, stood the afflicted relatives and associates of the General, the members of the Cincinnati, the clergy, and all who with decency could approach it. The scene was impressive ; and what added unspeakably to its solemnity, was the mournful group of tender boys, the sons, once the hopes and joys of the deceased, who, with tears gushing from their eyes, sat upon the stage, at the feet of the orator, bewailing the loss of their parent !

When all things were arranged, and the din of arms and the bustle of the crowd had subsided, Mr. Morris rose, and having approached the front of the stage, under which the corpse of General Hamilton was placed, addressed the audience as follows :

“ ——— You are not to expect in me the public orator ; you will find nothing but the lamentations of a bewailing friend.

“ His

And as to the question of bravery, does not every one perceive that true courage on the part of Mr.

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“ His life (pointing at the corpse), was one of honour and glory. When our revolution began, his fame was heard of before his person was seen.

“ Washington, that excellent judge of human nature, perceived his virtues, appreciated his talents, entrusted him with his confidence, and made him his bosom-friend.

“ At the battle of York, he displayed alike his valour and his humanity. The excesses of the gallant army opposed to us, had excited emotions of resentment in the American soldiery, which required his superior mind to repress. At the head of a forlorn hope he attacked the redoubt of the enemy, and was victorious. That occurrence gave us peace.

“ His studiousness, his comprehensive mind, his wisdom, his eloquence, called him to the convention in which originated your constitution, and presented you with a national code. Here I saw him labour indefatigably for his country's good. His soul was absorbed in considering what would best establish and preserve well-regulated liberty. When the labours of the convention were closed, he frankly expressed a doubt of the fitness of the constitution to maintain, with necessary energy, public freedom. He relied, however, my countrymen, on your wisdom, your virtue, but more on the over-ruling Power before whom we are solemnly assembled.

“ Washington, with whom he had toiled, and by whose side he had travelled through every stage of our revolutionary contest; Washington, who saw his manly struggles in the convention, and best knew how to promote his country's welfare; called him, under the new constitution, to preside over an important department of government. Here he displayed all the talents of a great financier. He organised the government, and imparted to it a tone according with correct notions of its stability, and the permanent interest and happiness of the country. At this period we had no credit; he fixed it upon a sure and permanent basis, and called our resources into profitable and glorious activity. But he met with opposition,

Hamilton would have consisted in braving the ridiculous opinions of an age of chivalry, which have

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and retired from public life to the pursuit of his profession, in which he became the ornament of the bar, and a paragon of integrity to his clients. The welfare of a numerous family called for an exertion of his great professional talents.

“ Menaced with dangers from without, Washington was forced from his beloved retirement to the field. This great man had not forgotten the young hero who, early in the revolution, had attracted his notice. I beseech you, my countrymen, to mark another instance of his discernment, affection, and esteem. He viewed the deceased as worthy of being the second in command. He was appointed major-general of our army. Washington deemed him, in case of accident perhaps, the only man in whose hands, which now lie cold in his coffin, the sword and purse of America could be safely entrusted.

“ He toiled incessantly with manly firmness against popular zeal; and snatched you, in spite of yourselves, from impending ruin. His solicitude was for you; for himself he feared not.

“ He had been charged with ambition. When he retired from the army, of which he was major-general, he declared he would never again accept of an office unless his country was endangered by actual foreign invasion. Firm to his purpose, faithful to himself, his determinations were irreversible. No power could divert him from them. He was rigid and inflexible.

“ But he was not ambitious. I declare, in the presence of that great Being before whom we are now specially assembled, that in all our conversations, in all his meditations, he was solicitous only for the welfare of his country. He was sincere and affectionate. His heart, faithful to itself, never knew how to conceal what it felt. He placed it in his hand; exhibited it to the people, and challenged rigid inspection. He knew no guile; he knew not how to dissemble.

“ But although retired from office, he never for a moment in his private capacity suffered his attention to be diverted from public business. He was a zealous friend to liberty. He was attentive, watchful,

long since been exploded, and which he himself in his \* posthumous writings has acknowledged to be false? He might thus have left to his opponent the shame of having seemed to suppose that his character required an extrinsic support, which he vainly

watchful, and active, to preserve it. He feared lest popular zeal would place the precious deposit in insincere and unsound hands. He dreaded factions, and was apprehensive that their collisions would injure it. For, my friends, my countrymen, I beseech you not to trust to *profession*. Look into, examine facts, and by these judge of public measures.

“Your sensibility is awakened. I cannot enter into a consideration of the causes that have produced the melancholy event which has brought us together. I will not—I ought not to endeavour to excite that indignation which you feel. I pray you to repress that temper, which might lead to acts offensive to the majesty of the laws. For my deceased and illustrious friend I beseech you to be calm and tranquil.

“Respected collegians (addressing himself to them), in your academical pursuits remember that Hamilton was your patron. Imitate his virtues, revere his talents, respect his greatness.

“And you, gentlemen of the bar, which he illuminated with his genius, study the example he has left of his exemplary integrity to his clients. He was the ornament of your profession.

“And you, brothers of the Society of the Cincinnati, you who knew him in the day of affliction, remember his wisdom and eloquence in the cabinet, his activity and valour in the field.

“And you, reverend clergy, accompany the body of the deceased to the place of its interment, and perform your holy functions, the last sad office you can now bestow.”

\* “My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow-creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws.”

recurred to and expected from the contemptible and adventitious aid of powder and ball!

It is not the professed object of these memoirs to inflict all the severity of indiscriminate censure on the conduct of living characters whom we undertake to delineate: but we are free to express our opinion generally, that we see no reason why merchants' accounts should not be settled by the pistol as well as points of veracity in any other profession; and if so, we may as well dismiss our judges and juries, and change every civil tribunal into an arena for gentlemen gladiators!

The duel \* in question, which took place in July

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\* The following authentic account of this melancholy transaction has been since published by Judge Van Ness, the second of Colonel Burr.

On the afternoon of the 17th of June last (1804) I received a note from Colonel Burr, requesting me to call on him the following morning. Upon my arrival, he observed, that it had of late been frequently stated to him, that General Hamilton had, at different times, and upon various occasions, used language, and expressed opinions, highly injurious to his reputation; that he had for some time felt the necessity of calling on General Hamilton for some explanation of his conduct; but that the statements which had been made to him did not appear sufficiently authentic to justify the measure. That a newspaper had however been recently put into his hands, in which he perceived a letter, signed Ch. D. Cooper, containing something which he thought demanded investigation. Urged by these circumstances, and justified by the evident opinion of his friends, he had determined to write General Hamilton a note upon the subject, which he requested me to deliver. I assented to his request, and on my return to the city, which was at eleven o'clock the same morning, I delivered to

General

1804, ended in the death of Mr. Hamilton, who happened to have for his second one of the judges of

General Hamilton the note which I received from Colonel Burr for that purpose, and of which the following is a copy.

No. I.

SIR,

New York, June 18, 1804,

I send for your perusal a letter signed Charles D. Cooper, which, though apparently published some time ago, has but very recently come to my knowledge. Mr. Van Ness, who does me the favour to deliver this, will point out to you that clause of the letter to which I particularly request your attention.

You must perceive, Sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression which would warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

General HAMILTON.

A. BURR.

General Hamilton read the note of Mr. Burr, and the printed letter of Mr. Cooper, to which it refers, and remarked that they required some consideration, and that in the course of the day he would send an answer to my office. At half past ten o'clock General Hamilton called at my house, and said that a variety of engagements would demand his attention during the whole of that day and the next, but that on Wednesday, the 20th instant, he would furnish me with such an answer to Colonel Burr's letter, as he should deem most suitable and compatible with his feelings. In the evening of Wednesday the 20th, while I was from home, the following letter, addressed to Colonel Burr, was left at my house under cover to me:

No. II.

SIR,

New York, June 20, 1804.

I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th instant, and the more I have reflected the more I am become convinced that I could not, without manifest impropriety, make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms.—“ I could detail to you a *still more despicable* opinion which Hamilton *has*

the county court of New York. Mr. Burr immediately fled from that state, and amused himself in tra-

*expressed of Mr. Burr."* To endeavour to discover the meaning of this declaration, I was obliged to seek in the antecedent part of this letter for the opinion to which it referred, as having been already disclosed. I found it in these words: "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared in *substance* that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a *dangerous man*, and one *who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government.*"

The language of Dr. Cooper plainly implies, that *he* considered this opinion of you, which he attributes to me, as a *despicable* one; but he affirms that I have expressed some other *still more despicable*, without, however, mentioning to whom, when or where. 'Tis evident that the phrase "still more despicable," admits of infinite shades, from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended; or how shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?

Between gentlemen, *despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of a distinction: when, therefore, you do not interrogate me as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude that you view it as within the limits to which the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and consequently as not warranting the idea of it which Dr. Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you *still more despicable* than the one which is particularised? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?

But I forbear further comment on the embarrassments to which the requisition you have made naturally leads. The occasion forbids a more ample illustration, though nothing could be more easy than to pursue it.

Repeating that I cannot reconcile it with propriety to make the acknowledgment or denial you desire, I will add, that I deem

velling in the south, till the session of Congress began in November ; his term as vice-president not expir-

it inadmissible on principle, to consent to be interrogated as to the justness of the *inferences* which may be drawn by others from whatever I may have said of a political opponent in the course of a fifteen years competition. If there were no other objection to it, this is sufficient, that it would tend to expose my sincerity and delicacy to injurious imputations from every person who may at any time have conceived the *import* of my expressions, differently from what I may then have intended or may afterwards recollect. I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman. More than this cannot fitly be expected from me ; and especially it cannot be reasonably expected that I shall enter into an explanation upon a basis so vague as that which you have adopted. I trust, on more reflection, you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequences.

The publication of Doctor Cooper was never seen by me till after the receipt of your letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Colonel BURR,

A. HAMILTON.

On the morning of Thursday the 21st, I delivered to Colonel Burr the above letter, and in the evening was furnished with the following letter for General Hamilton, which I delivered to him at twelve o'clock on Friday the 22d instant,

No. III.

SIR,

New York, June 21, 1804.

Your letter of the 20th inst. has been this day received. Having considered it attentively, I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value.

Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honour, and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege, nor indulge it in others.

ing till the March following, he appeared, and took his seat as usual, at the head of the Senate. In the

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The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Dr. Cooper the idea of dishonour. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not, whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax, and with grammatical accuracy; but whether you have authorized this application, either directly, or by uttering expressions or opinions derogatory to my honour. The time "when" is in your own knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed, so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable.

Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

I have to be, Sir, your obedient,

General HAMILTON.

A. BURR.

General Hamilton perused it, and said it was such a letter as he had hoped not to have received; that it contained several offensive expressions, and seemed to close the door to all further reply; that he had hoped the answer he had returned to Colonel Burr's first letter would have given a different direction to the controversy; that he thought Mr. Burr would have perceived that there was a difficulty in his making a more specific reply, and would have desired him to state what had fallen from him that might have given rise to the inference of Dr. Cooper. He would have done this frankly; and he believed it would not have been found to exceed the limits justifiable among political opponents. If Mr. Burr should be disposed to give a different complexion to the discussion, he was willing to consider the last letter not delivered; but if that communication was not withdrawn, he could make no reply, and Mr. Burr must pursue such course as he should deem most proper.

At the request of General Hamilton, I replied that I would detail those ideas to Colonel Burr; but added, that if in his first letter he had introduced the idea (if it was a correct one) that he

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mean time, the grand jury for the city of New York found a bill against him and the two seconds ; so that

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could recollect the use of no terms that would justify the construction made by Dr. Cooper, it would, in my opinion, have opened a door for accommodation. General Hamilton then repeated the same objections to this measure, which were stated in his first letter to Colonel Burr.

When I was about leaving him, he observed, that if I preferred it, he would commit his refusal to writing : I replied, that if he had resolved not to answer Colonel Burr's letter, that I would report that to him verbally, without giving him the trouble of writing it. He again repeated his determination not to answer, and that Colonel Burr must pursue such course as he should deem most proper.

On the afternoon of this day I reported to Colonel Burr, at his house out of town, the answer and determination of General Hamilton, and promised to call again on him in the evening, to learn his future wishes. I was detained, however, in town this evening, by some private business, and did not call on Colonel Burr until the following morning (Saturday the 23d instant). I then received from him a letter for General Hamilton, which is numbered IV. ; but as it will presently be explained, never was delivered. The substance of it will be found in No. XII.

When I returned with this letter to the city, which was about two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, I sent a note to General Hamilton's office, and also to his house, desiring to know when it would be convenient for him to receive a communication. The servant, as he informed me, received for answer at both places, that General Hamilton had gone to his country seat. I then wrote the note, of which No. V. is a copy, and sent it out to him in the country.

No. V.

SIR,

June 23, 1804.

In the afternoon of yesterday, I reported to Mr. Burr the result of our last interview, and appointed the evening to receive his further instructions ; some private engagements having prevented

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the United States exhibited the curious and humiliating scene of the second magistrate in the common-

me from calling on him till this morning, on my return to the city, I found upon enquiry, both at your office and house, that you had retired to your residence in the country. Lest an interview there might be less agreeable to you than elsewhere, I have taken the liberty of addressing you this note, to inquire when and where it will be most convenient for you to receive a communication?

Your obedient servant,

General HAMILTON.

W. P. VAN NESS.

To this I received for answer No. VI. which follows:

#### VI.

SIR,

Grange, June 23, 1804.

I was in town to-day till half past one. I thank you for the delicacy which dictated your note to me. If it is indispensable the communication should be made before Monday morning, I must receive it here; but I should think this cannot be important. On Monday, by nine o'clock, I shall be in town at my house in Cedar-street, No. 52, where I shall be glad to see you. An additional reason for preferring this is, that I am unwilling to occasion you trouble.

With esteem I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

To W. P. VAN NESS.

A. HAMILTON.

At nine o'clock on Monday the 25th inst. I called on General Hamilton, at his house in Cedar-street, to present the letter, No. IV. already alluded to, and with instructions for a verbal communication, of which the following notes, No. VII., handed me by Mr. Burr, were to be the basis; the substance of which, though in terms as much softened as my instructions would permit, was accordingly communicated to General Hamilton.

#### No. VII.

A. B. far from conceiving that rivalry authorizes a latitude not otherwise justifiable, always feels greater delicacy in such cases, and would think it meanness to speak of a rival but in terms of

wealth, and a man proscribed for murder united in one and the same person.

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of respect ; to do justice to his merits, to be silent of his foibles. Such has invariably been his conduct towards Jay, Adams, and Hamilton ; the only three who can be supposed to have stood in that relation to him.

That he has too much reason to believe that, in regard of Mr. Hamilton, there has been no reciprocity ; for several years his name has been lent to the support of base slanders, he has never had the generosity, the magnanimity, or the candour, to contradict or disavow. B. forbears to particularize, as it could only tend to produce new irritations ; but having made great sacrifices for the sake of harmony, having exercised forbearance till it approached to humiliation, he has seen no effect produced by such conduct but a repetition of injury. He is obliged to conclude that there is on the part of Mr. Hamilton a settled and implacable malevolence ; that he will never cease in his conduct towards Mr. B. to violate those courtesies of life ; and that hence he has no alternative but to announce those things to the world, which, consistently with Mr. B.'s ideas of propriety, can be done in no way but that which he has adopted. He is incapable of revenge ; still less is he capable of imitating the conduct of Mr. Hamilton, by committing secret depredations on his fame and character ; but these things must have an end.

Before I delivered the written communication with which I was charged, General Hamilton said that he had prepared a written reply to Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st, which he had left with Mr. Pendleton, and wished me to receive. I answered, that the communication I had to make to him was predicated upon the idea that he would make no reply to Mr. Burr's letter of the 21st inst., and that I had so understood him in our conversation of the 22d. General Hamilton said, that he believed before I left him he had proffered a written reply. I observed, that when he answered verbally, he had offered to put that *refusal* in writing ; but that if he had now prepared a written reply I would receive it with pleasure. I accordingly called on Mr. Pendleton on the same day,

It may not be altogether unnecessary to add in this place perhaps, that at the succeeding election Mr.

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day, Monday, June 25, between one and two o'clock P. M., and stated to him the result of my recent interview with General Hamilton, and the reference he had made to him. I then received from Mr. Pendleton the letter No. VIII., which follows :

No. VIII.

SIR,

New-York, June 22, 1804.

Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it ; but by your last letter received this day, containing expressions *indecorous* and improper, you have increased the difficulties to explanation, intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

If by a "definite reply," you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no other answer to give, than that which has already been given. If you mean any thing different, admitting of greater latitude, it is requisite you should explain.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, your obedient servant,

AARON BURR, Esq.

ALEX. HAMILTON.

This letter was unsealed, but I did not read it in his presence. After some conversation relative to what General Hamilton would say on the subject of the present controversy, during which Mr. Pendleton read from a paper his ideas on the subject, he left me for the purpose of seeing and consulting Mr. Hamilton, taking the paper with him. In about an hour he called at my house ; I informed him that I had shewn to Colonel Burr the letter he had given me from General Hamilton : that, in his opinion, it amounted to nothing more than the verbal reply I had already reported ; that it left the business precisely where it then was ; that Mr. Burr had very explicitly stated the injuries he had received, and the reparation he demanded ; and that he did not think it proper to be asked now for further explanation.

Towards

Burr had not so much as a single vote. On the other hand, it would be illiberal to conclude the pre-

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Towards the conclusion of the conversation I informed him that Colonel Burr required a general disavowal of any intention on the part of General Hamilton, in his various conversations, to convey expressions derogatory to the honour of Mr. Burr. Mr. Pendleton replied that he believed General Hamilton would have no objections to make such declaration, and left me for the purpose of consulting him, requested me to call in the course of the afternoon for an answer. I called on him accordingly about six o'clock. He then informed me that General Hamilton declined making such disavowal as I had stated in our last conversation; that he, Mr. Pendleton, did not then perceive the whole force and extent of it; and presented me with the following paper, No. IX., which I transmitted in the evening to Mr. Burr.

#### No. IX.

In answer to a letter properly adapted to obtain from General Hamilton a declaration whether he had charged Colonel Burr with any particular instance of dishonourable conduct, or had impeached his private character, either in the conversation alluded to by Dr. Cooper, or in any other particular instance to be specified :

He would be able to answer consistently with his honour, and the truth, in substance, that the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, turned wholly on political topics, and did not attribute to Colonel Burr any instance of dishonourable conduct, nor relate to his private character; and in relation to any other language or conversation of General H. which Colonel Burr will specify, a prompt and frank avowal or denial will be given.

The following day (Tuesday, June 26), as early as was convenient, I had an interview with Colonel Burr, who informed me that he considered General Hamilton's proposition a mere evasion, that evinced a desire to leave the injurious impressions which had arisen from the conversations of General Hamilton in full force; that when he had undertaken to investigate an injury his  
honour

sent article without stating, that the late General Hamilton, in a paper found after his death, expresses

honour had sustained, it would be unworthy of him not to make that investigation complete. He gave me further instructions, which are substantially contained in the following letter to Mr. Pen-  
dleton, No. X.

No. X.

SIR,

26th June, 1804.

The letter which you yesterday delivered me, and your subsequent communication, in Colonel Burr's opinion, evince no disposition on the part of General Hamilton to come to a satisfactory accommodation. The injury complained of, and the reparation expected, are so definitely expressed in Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st inst. that there is not perceived a necessity for further explanation on his part. The difficulty that would result from confining the inquiry to any particular times and occasions must be manifest. The denial of a specified conversation only would leave strong implications that on other occasions improper language had been used. When and where injurious opinions and expressions have been uttered by General Hamilton must be best known to him, and of him only will Colonel Burr inquire. No denial or declaration will be satisfactory unless it be general, so as wholly to exclude the idea that rumours derogatory to Colonel Burr's honour have originated with General Hamilton, or have been *fairly* inferred from any thing he has said. A definitive reply to a requisition of this nature was demanded by Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st inst. This being refused, invites the alternative alluded to in General Hamilton's letter of the 20th.

It was required by the position in which the controversy was placed by General Hamilton on Friday last, and I was immediately furnished with a communication demanding a personal interview. The necessity of this measure has not, in the opinion of Colonel Burr, been diminished by the General's last letter, or any communication which has since been received. I am consequently again instructed to deliver you a message, as soon as it may be convenient for you to receive it. I beg therefore you will be so  
good

himself as follows : “ It is not to be denied that my animadversions on the political principles and views of Colonel B. have been extremely severe ; and on

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good as to inform me at what hour I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

NATHANIEL PENDLETON, Esq.

W. P. VAN NESS.

In the evening of the same day I received from him the following answer :

### No. XI.

SIR,

26th June, 1804.

I have communicated the letter which you did me the honour to write to me of this date to General Hamilton. The expectations now disclosed, on the part of Colonel Burr, appear to him to have greatly extended the original ground of inquiry, and instead of presenting a particular and definite case for explanation, seems to aim at nothing less than an inquisition into his most confidential conversations, as well as others, through the whole period of his acquaintance with Colonel Burr.

While he was prepared to meet the particular case fairly and fully, he thinks it inadmissible that he should be expected to answer at large as to every thing that he may possibly have said, in relation to the character of Colonel Burr, at any time, or upon any occasion. Though he is not conscious that any charges which are in circulation, to the prejudice of Colonel Burr, have originated with him, except one which may have been so considered, and which has, long since, been fully explained between Colonel Burr and himself; yet he cannot consent to be questioned generally as to any rumours which may be afloat derogatory to the character of Colonel Burr, without specification of the several rumours, many of them probably unknown to him. He does not, however, mean to authorize any conclusion as to the real nature of his conduct, in relation to Colonel Burr, by his declining so loose and vague a basis of explanation; and he disavows an unwillingness to come to a satisfactory, provided it be an honourable, accommodation.

different occasions. I in common with many others, have made very unfavourable criticisms on particular instances of the private conduct of this gentleman."

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accommodation. His objection is, the very indefinite ground which Colonel Burr has assumed, in which he is sorry to be able to discern nothing short of predetermined hostility. Presuming, therefore, that it will be adhered to, he has instructed me to receive the message which you have it in charge to deliver. For this purpose I shall be at home, and at your command, to-morrow morning from eight to ten o'clock.

I have the honour to be respectfully,

Your obdient servant,

WILLIAM P. VAN NESS, Esq.

NATHANIEL PENDLETON.

I transmitted this to Colonel Burr, and after a conference with him, in which I received his further instructions, and that no misunderstanding might arise from verbal communication, I committed to writing the remarks contained in No. XII. which follows :

#### No. XII.

SIR,

Wednesday morning, June 27, 1804.

The letter which I had the honour to receive from you, under the date of yesterday, states, among other things, that in General Hamilton's opinion, Colonel Burr has taken a very indefinite ground, in which he evinces nothing short of predetermined hostility, and that General Hamilton thinks it inadmissible that the inquiry should extend to his confidential as well as other conversations. To this Colonel Burr can only reply, that secret whispers, traducing his fame, and impeaching his honour are, at least, equally injurious with slanders publicly uttered; that General Hamilton had, at no time, and in no place, a right to use any such injurious expressions; and that the partial negative he is disposed to give, with the reservations he wishes to make, are proofs that he has done the injury specified.

Colonel Burr's request was, in the first instance, proposed in a form the most simple, in order that General Hamilton might give the

He even appeared desirous to avoid the possibility of shedding the blood of his antagonist ; for he adds :

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the affair that course to which he might be induced by this temper and his knowledge of facts. Colonel Burr trusted with confidence that from the frankness of a soldier and the candour of a gentleman, he might expect an ingenuous declaration ; that if, as he had reason to believe, General Hamilton had used expressions derogatory to his honour, he would have had the magnanimity to retract them ; and that if, from his language, injurious inferences had been improperly drawn, he would have perceived the propriety of correcting errors, which might thus have been widely diffused. With these impressions, Colonel Burr was greatly surprised at receiving a letter which he considered as evasive, and which in a manner he deemed not altogether decorous. In one expectation, however, he was not wholly deceived, for the close of General Hamilton's letter contained an intimation that if Colonel Burr should dislike his refusal to acknowledge or deny, he was ready to meet the consequences. This Colonel Burr deemed a sort of defiance, and would have felt justified in making it the basis of an immediate message. But as the communication contained something concerning the indefiniteness of the request ; as he believed it rather the offspring of false pride than of reflection, and as he felt the utmost reluctance to proceed to extremities, while any other hope remained, his request was repeated in terms more explicit. The replies and propositions on the part of General Hamilton have, in Colonel Burr's opinion, been constantly in substance the same.

Colonel Burr disavows all motives of predetermined hostility, a charge by which he thinks insult added to injury. He feels as a gentleman should feel, when his honour is impeached or assailed, and without sensations of hostility, or wishes of revenge, he is determined to vindicate that honour, at such hazard as the nature of the case demands.

The length to which this correspondence has extended, only tended to prove that the satisfactory redress earnestly desired,

“ I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and if it pleases God to give me

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cannot be obtained, he deems it useless to offer any proposition, except the simple message which I shall now have the honour to deliver.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

I handed this to Mr. Pendleton, at twelve o'clock on Wednesday, the 27th instant. After he had perused it, agreeable to my instructions, I delivered the message, which it is unnecessary to repeat. The request it contained was acceded to; after which Mr. Pendleton remarked, that a court was then sitting, in which General Hamilton had much business to transact, and that he had also some private arrangements to make, which would render some delay unavoidable. I acceded to his wish, and Mr. Pendleton said, he would call on me again in the course of that day or the following morning, to confer further relative to time and place.

Thursday, June 28, ten o'clock, P.M. Mr. Pendleton called on me with a paper, which he said, contained some remarks on the letter I had yesterday delivered him. I replied, that if the paper he offered contained a definite and specific proposition for accommodation, I would with pleasure receive it, and submit it to the consideration of my principal: if not, I must decline taking it, as Mr. Burr conceived the correspondence completely terminated, by the acceptance of the invitation contained in the message I had yesterday delivered. Mr. Pendleton replied, that the paper did not contain any proposition of the kind I alluded to, but remarks on my last letter; I of course declined receiving it. Mr. Pendleton then took leave, and said, that he would call again in a day or two, to arrange time and place.

Tuesday, July 3, I again saw Mr. Pendleton, and after a few subsequent interviews, the time when the parties were to meet was ultimately fixed for the morning of the 11th July, inst.

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the opportunity, to *reserve and throw away my first fire*, and I have thought even of reserving my *second*

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The occurrences of that interview will appear from the following statement, No. XIII. which has been drawn up and mutually agreed to by the seconds of the parties :

No. XIII.

Colonel Burr arrived first on the ground, as had been previously agreed ; when General Hamilton arrived, the parties exchanged salutations, and the seconds proceeded to make their arrangements. — They measured the distance, ten full paces, and cast lots for the choice of position, as also to determine by whom the word should be given, both of which fell to the second of General Hamilton. They then proceeded to load the pistols in each other's presence, after which the parties took their stations. — The gentleman who was to give the word, then explained to the parties the rules which were to govern them in firing, which were as follows : — “ The parties being placed at their stations, the second who gives the word shall ask them whether they are ready ? being answered in the affirmative, he shall say, *present*, after this the parties shall *present* and fire when they please. If one fires before the other, the opposite second shall say, one, two, three, fire ; and he shall then fire, or lose his fire.” He then asked, if they were prepared ; being answered in the affirmative, he gave the word *present*, as was agreed on ; both parties presented, and fired in succession ; the intervening time is not expressed, and the seconds do not precisely agree on that point. The fire of Colonel Burr took effect, and General Hamilton almost instantly fell : Colonel Burr then advanced towards General Hamilton, with a manner and gesture that appeared to General Hamilton's friend to be expressive of regret, but, without speaking, turned about and withdrew, being urged from the field by his friend, as has been subsequently stated, with a view to prevent his being recognized by the surgeon and bargemen, who were then approaching. No further communication took place between the principals, and the barge that carried Colonel Burr immediately

*fire*, and thus giving a double opportunity for Colonel Burr to pause and to reflect."

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THE REV. WALTER BLAKE KIRWAN,

DEAN OF KILLALA, &c. &c.

IF the talents of the human mind are to be estimated by their effects, the most dignified and most important is certainly Eloquence. Unarmed with the mandates of power, or the seductions of birth and titles, the orator rules with despotic sway over the feelings and the sentiments of his hearers ; rouses a nation to energy and enterprize, or smooths the waves of tumult and disturbance to rest.

It is not alone in the senate, or the courts of justice, that the voice of Eloquence is all-powerful. The dearest interests of the human soul receive and enoble its exertions ; and the sacred orator becomes in reality what the Delphic priestess only pretended to be, the organ of the Divinity.

Walter Blake Kirwan was born in the year 1754, in the vicinity of the town of Galway, in the western part of Ireland. His parents professed the Roman Catholic religion ; and, like many others in that part of the world, were not wholly destitute of the spe-

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mediately returned to the city.—We conceive it proper to add, that the conduct of the parties in this interview was perfectly proper, and suited the occasion.

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cies of pride connected with ancestry. The young man was sent at a very early age to the celebrated college of English Jesuits at St. Omers, where, during a residence of seven years, he possessed the advantage resulting from the ablest system of classical education, while before him was invariably exhibited the precept as well as example of every ascetic virtue. He has often declared that he owes it to truth to assert, that whatever the prejudice against a great but unfortunate society of men may have been, that in the shades of the above academy he first felt the noble ambition of becoming useful to mankind. However faulty the conduct of the Jesuits appears in other respects, as instructors of youth they were both able and indefatigable.

It was soon, however, the lot of young Kirwan to be thrown into a course of life better calculated to train the soul to selfishness, than to foster any great or generous principle. At the age of seventeen he embarked for the Danish island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, under the protection of a cousin-german of his father, who had large possessions in that settlement. There, for five years, he struggled with continued ill health, in a region the influence of which was equally malignant to the constitution and the heart, and was forced to witness scenes since sufficiently exposed, although not exaggerated either by the tongue or pen of Eloquence. Unfortunately the recent and undefinable horrors of St. Domingo

have spread a kind of veil over the enormities perpetrated in that and the other islands, excessive and palpable as they have been and still are. If humanity, however, be a prevailing virtue in the human soul, the name of Wilberforce must be remembered, when those of heroes and statesmen are forgotten.

On Mr. Kirwan's return to Europe at the age of twenty-three, inclination to a life of study, added to the wish of his maternal uncle, who at that time enjoyed the titular dignity of Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland, determined him for the church. He accordingly repaired to the university of Louvain in the then Austrian Netherlands, where after a course of instruction, chiefly under that able and respectable man Dr. Gaffey, now at the head of the Roman Catholic chapel in Soho-square, he received priest's orders. Mr. Kirwan continued his studies with increasing assiduity and reputation; and soon after had his merit acknowledged and rewarded by being appointed to succeed his preceptor in the chair of Moral and Natural Philosophy.

At Louvain our professor continued three years, performing the duties of his office in a manner that will long be remembered with delight by his pupils, until invited in the year 1778 to officiate as chaplain to the Neapolitan Ambassador at the British court. In this situation he for the space of seven years discharged the important functions of his station to a small congregation, chiefly composed of  
English

English Catholics, in his Excellency's chapel. This period of his life Dean Kirwan considers as particularly interesting; having found among his flock piety the most unaffected and assiduous, adorned with true liberality of sentiment and high moral desert. He also enjoyed, at this epoch of his ministry, the pleasure of receiving personal attentions and obligations that could not be but doubly gratifying to a pastor.

On another account too, his situation in London at this time afforded him peculiar satisfaction: it furnished him with the opportunity of hearing the best preachers of every sect (a circumstance that perhaps contributed not a little to the important alteration that some time after took place in his religious opinions), and the means of listening to men of eminent oratorical talents both at the Bar and in Parliament.

On Mr. Kirwan's first acquaintance with the person and talents of his great countryman Edmund Burke, a circumstance occurred that strongly demonstrates the influence that eloquence possessed over the feelings of our preacher. The illustrious orator just alluded to was on his legs when he was admitted into the gallery of the House of Commons; and notwithstanding in a speech of some hours he made many considerable pauses, yet Mr. Kirwan thought not once of inquiring the name of him who spoke; so invincible was the grasp he had taken of his soul and all its faculties. Although an enthu-

siastic admirer of Mr. Burke, he could yet see and acknowledge his imperfections. He has often observed, with that energetic elegance which invariably characterises his expressions, that this orator's great defect originated in an imagination so ungovernable, or rather so insatiable, that it rejected nothing, but mingled on every occasion, and almost in equal profusion, the sublime and the low: at one moment soaring with the bird of Jove; at another sweeping promiscuous filth off the earth with the rapid wing of the ostrich.

We come now to the most important period of Mr. Kirwan's life, and have to record that great change in his religious opinions, on which the future colour of his own fate and the happiness of many thousand human beings perhaps depended. After two years retirement in the bosom of his family, he conformed to the religion of the state. This solemn act took place in the parish church of St. Peter's, in Dublin, under the auspices of Dr. Hastings, the then Archdeacon of the diocese, whose kindness and attention on the occasion he has ever spoken of with gratitude. In canvassing the motives of this act, bigotry will misrepresent, and slander calumniate. We owe it however to ourselves as dispassionate friends to religion, and unprejudiced members of the church of England, to say that if ever truth was embraced, and error renounced from pure and conscientious motives, it was done so by Dean Kirwan. It would be foreign

to the nature of this memoir to enter into theological or polemic disquisitions. Suffice it to say, that from his high prospects and estimation in his own church, motives of mercenary interest could have had no influence with him; in any communion to which he belonged, Mr. Kirwan must have occupied a superior station. If, under these circumstances, to be possessed of an understanding vigorous enough to discover truth and resolution to adopt it in the face of obloquy and reproach; if to exhibit a life without stain, and fervently devoted to the service of religion and humanity, be any evidences of a change founded on principle, even his enemies (if any he has) must admit that our convert has not been wanting in these.

Mr. Kirwan felt his powers: as an advocate for charity, he knew he must be irresistible. His own church furnished but a narrow and barren field for the exertion of this god-like talent. The great preponderance of wealth was among the professors of the established religion, and perhaps a proportional degree of misery among its lower classes. This circumstance then we may conjecture, to a mind of such active and energetic philanthropy as Mr. Kirwan possessed, might have in a certain degree co-operated in bringing about the change we have recorded.

The first sermon of a convert of such eminence we may naturally suppose was an object of considerable interest and curiosity. The protestant looked for a studied eulogium of his creed, and a vehement philippic

philippic against the hoary abominations of popes and popery, in order to smooth the orator's way to preferment in the church he had adopted : the anger of the Roman Catholic was naturally to be expected : both, however, were disappointed. The bigot who looked for invective, and the libertine for sport, departed with very different sentiments from what they brought. On the day of his conforming to the protestant religion Mr. Kirwan preached in St. Peter's church to a crowded audience, and with temperate propriety avoided saying a single syllable on the motives that actuated him, confining his sermon to the grand immutable outlines of christianity. This judicious conduct he has since invariably pursued : and has had the heartfelt satisfaction of continuing his ministry with the increasing affection and respect of every religious class of the community.

From the moment of Mr. Kirwan's first appearance as a protestant preacher it was universally felt that a new æra had taken place in sacred eloquence.

He found that to ensure the perfection of every species of public speaking, a certain graceful motion of the body and limbs, commonly called *action*, is indispensable. If this is true in other branches of oratory ;—in that where threats of infinite punishment and promises of eternal happiness are held forth ; where the weight of argument is occasionally relieved by the pathos of feeling, or the diffused graces of narration ; where an appeal is made to the most powerful feelings and interests of the human soul ;  
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it must be considered as necessary in no common degree.

One of the charitable institutions most important to the welfare of a civilized state, is that which provides an asylum for destitute female orphans. Whether we consider it in a religious, a philanthropic, or a political point of view, it calls equally loud on us for its support: the feelings of the man, the principles of the christian, and the prudence of the statesman, are alike interested. In the city of Dublin this truth had long been felt and neglected: or if attended to, it was but by the inadequate patronage of a few benevolent individuals. Amongst these god-like few it would be ingratitude to the cause of humanity not to distinguish the name of *Latouche*, a name that at once conveys to our imagination every thing that is benevolent and respectable.

The plan however could only, in any considerable degree, be efficient by becoming an object of public bounty, and Mr. Kirwan was determined to endeavour it should be so. With talents, the display of which at once gratified the imagination, convinced the judgment, and melted the heart, he took up their cause. The effect was almost magical. Congregations, whose crowds nearly amounted to suffocation, and brought back to the imagination the throngs that attended the first promulgators of the gospel, flocked to listen and to contribute. The grasp of avarice was relaxed; the sensualist was taught to purchase the till then untasted luxury—of benevolence; and the worldling to feel for others beside

beside himself. To the softer sex the appeal could not but be irresistible. Females of the highest rank and most splendid fortunes, not content with their own large contributions, were beheld exerting every fascination of manner and charm of entreaty to induce the co-operation of all ranks : and sums were collected within the walls of a church, which appear almost incredible.\* The narrow dwelling, where before a few destitute young women had with scanty and precarious support been rescued from the miseries of want, the arts of seduction, and the horrors of vice, was suddenly expanded into an extensive and ample asylum, increasing alike in its inhabitants and funds. Fresh claimants were daily applying ; nor were they rejected ; and the benevolent author of this happiness (a happiness not confined to the objects of the charity alone, but extended on all sides to their relations, friends, and connexions,) has the delightful consciousness of having, by the exertions of his transcendant eloquence, contributed more to the benefit of his native country than if he himself had been gifted with a superabundance of wealth.

Mr. Kirwan's exertions, however, have not been confined to the patronage of the asylum for female orphans. Occasionally many other of the charitable

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\* In St. Anne's church alone, at one sermon for this institution, the sum of *fifteen hundred pounds* was received ; a larger contribution than ever before was offered, perhaps, at one time on the altar of charity by a christian congregation.

institutions of the city of Dublin have gratefully acknowledged the success of his appeals to the public in their favour. The school of his own parish has not a little benefited by them. From being a receptacle for a few wretched children, the offspring of the most populous spot in the metropolis, it has grown to a respectable and comfortable seminary for a district particularly in want of such an institution.

We may readily believe that abilities such as we have described, the exercise of which has at length become a national benefit, could not be overlooked by those who have the distribution of church preferment. By the late Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Fowler, Mr. Kirwan was presented to the living of St. Nicholas Without, in the city of Dublin, and by Marquis Cornwallis recommended to the deanery of Killala ; both of which he now holds : and if talents and virtue are a claim to the mitre, we may expect to find him at no distant period shedding a lustre on the episcopal bench.

If ever a philanthropist has had reason to be gratified by the success of his exertions, it is the subject of these memoirs. During a period of seventeen years he has been destined to address audiences literally overflowing in number and mercy. Considerably more than fifty thousand pounds, applied chiefly to one of the most important concerns of nations, and the very first in the catalogue of humanity, namely, the protection and education of friendless children, is the happy and glorious fruit of these appeals : to say nothing of a spirit universally awakened

awakened through the land, that will long, it is to be hoped, continue to be the resource of every species of calamity, and the powerful means of diminishing the public evils and disgrace of a most wretched and untutored people.

Of Dean Kirwan, as a private individual, it may be necessary to say a few words. In person he is rather thin, but tall and graceful, and possessing, from long residence on the continent, somewhat the look of a foreigner. Mr. Addison has justly observed, that dress has a considerable influence on the sentiments of mankind in general. In this respect therefore the subject of these pages is not ambitious of following the example of certain great men, who affect to gain celebrity by a slovenly contempt for even the decencies of external appearance; for he is invariably attired with uncommon neatness and propriety.

In his conversation is strongly displayed that brilliant imagination and happy diction which characterise his public discourses, joined to a very considerable degree of amiable affability. His countenance, particularly his eye, is forcibly expressive of energy of intellect. Delicate health is visible in his appearance. This however he endeavours to counteract by rigid temperance and exercise; so that he is but seldom prevented by illness from exerting himself as a preacher in the cause of humanity. He has however been known to carry these exertions to an extreme, dangerous even to his life; and the writer of this was present when the effort has been so oppressive

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sive to a delicate frame as to leave nothing to humanity but his wishes and his tears. His audience, however, more than participated in his feelings, and bestowed a larger bounty than perhaps his most eloquent address could have obtained.

In his domestic life our preacher has himself experienced that happiness which he has been the instrument of procuring to so many thousands of his fellow-creatures. In the year 1798 he married a very amiable and accomplished young woman, the daughter of Goddard Richards, Esq. of Grange in the county of Wexford : who has presented him with two girls and a boy. Thus in the bosom of domestic happiness, and amid the admiration and respect of a most extensive circle of friends, Dean Kirwan continues a brilliant example of the incalculable benefits the talents and benevolent zeal of a single pastor of the christian church can confer on his native country and posterity.

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## SIR HOME RIGGS POPHAM,

K. M. AND A CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

THE cross of St. George which now waves triumphant on every sea, and is known and respected in the remotest regions of the habitable world, was but a few centuries since confined to far humbler limits. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, the greatness and independence of which have passed away like a dream, navigated

vigated the Mediterranean with their war-gallies and their merchantmen, while we crept along our own coasts, permitted our wool to be exported for the benefit of foreigners, and in return were supplied with all the articles of luxury from abroad. At that period too, the Hans Towns, now dwindled into comparative insignificance, became the emporia of commerce. The sovereigns of Spain and Portugal had also acquired great honour by the patronage of a Magellan and a Columbus, before our Henry VII. invested Giovanni Gaboto, an Italian adventurer who happened to settle at Bristol, with the power and the means of prosecuting the discoveries of that fortunate Florentine, who without any of the merit of an original discoverer, found means to confer his name on the New Continent.

If such was the deplorable situation of English commerce at the end of the fifteenth century, that but few of our vessels ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and we were obliged to recur to the experience of a stranger for the conduct of a voyage which ended in the discovery of Newfoundland, what must have been the state of Ireland? That fair portion of the British isles was at this period a prey to anarchy and confusion, the theatre of contention between hostile chiefs, and the favourite spot in which either the gold or the religion of Rome, Madrid, and Paris, found means to form parties adverse to the interests of England.

The able historian of the reign of Charles V. has justly observed, that navigation and ship building  
are

are arts so nice and complicated, that they require the ingenuity as well as the experience of many successive ages to bring them to any degree of perfection. It was impossible, therefore, in times such as those, that the country to which we now allude should have assumed any degree of maritime importance. It accordingly happened, that at a later epoch, while the sister island under better auspices was fitting out fleets for both the Indies, the Irish were creeping along the shores of their rivers in *coracles* \* made of leather, like the Esquimaux, or sailing from one headland of the coast to another, in boats but little larger than the canoe of an Indian.

Happier times succeeded after a long interval. The inhabitants of that country, in consequence of the removal of a variety of impolitic restraints, were at length suffered to participate in our commerce. Their prosperity was at last discovered to be intimately connected with our own. The adventurous sons of Hibernia were no longer suffered to fight and bleed for foreign countries. They settled in, and helped to colonize, the dominions of Britain in the East and West Indies; they entered by multitudes into our army: as they became more commercial, a taste for

\* Virgil, who was an antiquary as well as a poet, recurs to the early history of Rome, in order to describe Charon ferrying his frail leathern boat across the marshy Styx:

— “gemuit sub pondere cymba  
Sutilis, et multum accepit rimosa paludem.”

*Æneid.* vi. 414.

naval affairs of course prevailed, and they have of late crowded into our fleets. By our short-sighted penal laws we drove them to seek their bread among our enemies; by milder and wiser means we have united them to the general fortune of the state; and it only wants a generous extension of the same beneficent policy, to render both protestants and catholics alike interested in the stability of the empire.

Sir Home Riggs Popham, of whose life we are now about to present an outline, was born in Ireland, about the year 1762. His father, having married twice or three times, had a very numerous family, and the boys of course were obliged to seek their fortune in different quarters of the globe. The eldest, whom we shall find occasion to mention hereafter, entered into the military service of the East India Company, in which he at length obtained the rank of a general officer, after long and meritorious exertions\*; while Home, of whom we now propose to treat, and who was a younger brother, after receiving the necessary preliminary education (which this narrative will prove not to have been defective), entered as a midshipman into the British navy. During the American war he attained the rank of lieutenant; and in consequence of the peace that ensued, the

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\* Major now General Popham was then upon the Bengal establishment, and had already distinguished himself by a gallant exploit. Having learned that the dominions of the Rannah or Queen of Ghod were invaded by the Mahrattas, he marched to her relief, drove the enemy before him, and surprised the strong fort of Gwalior, until then deemed impregnable.

greater part of our ships being laid up in ordinary, he had a fortune and almost a profession to seek. He was, therefore, induced to turn his eyes towards the East, where the brother before alluded to had already distinguished himself. He accordingly repaired thither, visited most parts of India, and, having evinced a genius for nautical topography, was appointed, at the special recommendation of Lord Cornwallis, one of a committee sent in 1788 to survey New Harbour, in the river Hoogly, which had been represented by Mr. Lacam as a proper place for a dock-yard. He also appears in 1791 to have commanded a *country-ship*\*; and being bound from Bengal to Bombay in 1791, during a very tempestuous monsoon, he was obliged to bear up for the Straights of Malacca, and anchor at Pulo Pinang, now called Prince of Wales Island. This event led to the discovery and survey of the southern passage or outlet, which induced him to think that the great *desideratum* of a marine yard might be effectually obtained there.

In 1791, a chart was accordingly engraved and published, with the leave of the government, and at the sole expence of a public-spirited individual †, then sheriff of Calcutta, impelled by no other view than the good of the service ‡.

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\* This was formerly a very common occurrence; for the late Governor Johnstone, and the father of the present Admiral Stirling, both commanded American merchantmen while lieutenants in the navy, during the time of peace.

† Anthony Lambert, Esq.

‡ "I feel it incumbent on me," says Captain Popham, in a letter dated Calcutta, December 29, 1791, "to relate the particular

In consequence of this gratuitous effort, Lieutenant Popham received a letter of thanks from the government, for a measure "which was likely to prove beneficial to the commerce of the company, by removing the objections which precluded the commanders of their ships from touching at Prince of Wales Island late in the season, when the strong winds from the north and north-west occasioned a delay of several days in working round the north end of the island to go to the southward; and it will also," it was added, "encourage ships to touch at the island on their return from China, which few were able to

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circumstances which led to the ascertaining the South Channel, and the publication of the chart.

"Soon after my arrival at Prince of Wales Island, I observed the difficulty that ships had in working round the north end of the island, as the strong N.W. winds were then setting in. I found, on inquiry, that it had not been determined whether there was a safe channel to the eastward of Pulo Jeraja, and I offered my service to Mr. Light (the Governor) for this purpose. The handsome manner in which he accepted it claims my grateful thanks; and the ready assistance he gave me on this occasion contributed to my ultimate success, and demonstrated his ardent wish to promote the welfare of the rising colony over which he presides.

"The friendly communication which this gentleman made to the Right Honourable the Governor-general in council here, has another claim to my acknowledgments, as it has procured me testimonies of approbation far transcending the humble portion of my endeavours, and which are so flattering, as to exact from me the most ready obedience to his orders, whenever, on any future occasion, he may do me the honour to conceive that my slender professional acquirements can anywise tend to promote the public service."

accomplish before the southern channel was ascertained." A piece of plate was at the same time presented him in the name of the Governor-General in Council, with a suitable inscription. The Court of Directors, on receiving the intelligence, also recommended him in very strong terms to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

It appears from authentic documents, that the company's ship the *Lord Macartney*, as well as the *Hampshire*, the *Bridgewater*, and the *Carron*, the last of which was piloted by the discoverer, were all enabled to save considerable time through his means; and several commanders, viz. the Captains *Lawrie*, *Reid*, and *M'Intosh*, in a letter dated from Canton, November 13th, 1792, signified their wish to present him with a piece of plate in their own names, and those of others sailing from Bombay, "being highly sensible of the advantage they may derive from the southern channel leading from Prince of Wales Island to sea, which you have now fully established," say they, "by carrying through all the honourable company's ships of this season, and most of them with a working wind." Beacons were first placed for the direction of mariners, and buoys, nine feet by six, afterwards stationed for this purpose.

About this period, Lieutenant Popham, who had acted for some years as a free trader in that quarter of the world, was appointed to the command of the *Etrusco*; an Imperial East Indiaman; and on his return from Bengal to Ostend, we understand that this vessel was seized by an English frigate,

and made prize of, a considerable portion of the property on board having been supposed to appertain to British subjects.

The loss of the unfortunate commander upon this occasion was doubtless great; but upon the whole, perhaps, it operated as an advantage; as an opportunity soon occurred, partly in consequence of this very event, to bring him once more into the service in which he had been bred, and point out a new road to fame, fortune, and honour.

The French revolution, which has since effected so many great and important changes in the face of Europe, promised even at this moment to prove fatal to the independence of Holland. Pichegru advancing with a powerful army, after capturing Sluys, Crevecœur, Venloo, and Maestricht, in November 1794 laid siege to Nimeguen. Here he experienced considerable resistance; for this city was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but the Duke of York was enabled at any time to throw in supplies from his camp at Arnheim. As it appeared evident that the place could not be taken until all intercourse with the English troops was cut off, two strong batteries were immediately erected on the right and left of the line of defence, and these were so effectually served by the enemy's artillerists, that they at length destroyed one of the boats that supported the bridge of communication. In consequence of this, the place must have surrendered immediately, had it not been for the exertions of Lieutenant Popham, who, having repaired thither from Ostend, immediately

mediately repaired the damage, and thus for a while protracted the fate of the town.

His conduct upon this occasion, during which he served as a volunteer, immediately introduced him to the notice and the patronage of the Commander in Chief; and accordingly, in consequence of the representations of his Royal Highness, he soon after obtained the rank, first of a master and commander, and then of a post-captain in the British navy\*.

Nearly at the same time (in November 1793), he conceived the idea of arming the fishermen of Flanders in defence of their own towns; and having received orders for that purpose from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, through Sir James Murray Pulteney, then Adjutant-general, he formed a body of them into a regular corps for the defence of Newport. These, which he himself commanded, proved of great service; and as Sir Charles Grey, and other officers, bore ample testimony to their utility, we shall see hereafter that the scheme was at length adopted in England on a grand and extensive scale.

In 1795 we find Captain Popham acting as naval-agent for the British transports on the Continent: and it was under his immediate inspection that the British troops which had been serving in Holland, were embarked, and escorted to England by the *Dædalus* and *Amphion* frigates.

Some time after this, his intimate knowledge of

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\* April 4, 1795.

Maritime Flanders, where he had resided, joined to a well-established reputation for enterprise, induced government to appoint him to the command of an expedition against that country. As no hopes were any longer entertained of being able to restore the fine provinces, heretofore denominated the Austrian Netherlands, to the Emperor, the English ministry thought proper to endeavour to render them as little serviceable as possible to the enemy. An armament was accordingly assembled for the purpose in the spring of 1798, in Margate Roads, under the command of Captain Popham.

This flotilla, consisting in all of twenty-five vessels of small draught of water, sailed from the coast of Kent on the 14th of May, and appeared off Ostend on the 19th. The wind, however, proved so boisterous that a landing was deferred, and would have been suspended until a more auspicious opportunity, had not intelligence been received from a captured vessel that the force in the neighbouring garrisons was but trifling. General Coote having therefore proposed that the debarkation should be effected immediately, notwithstanding the surf, which rendered a retreat in case of miscarriage doubtful, Captain Popham gave the necessary orders for that purpose. Such was the alacrity displayed upon this occasion, that many of the troops actually reached the shore, under protection of the gun-boats, before they were discovered. At half past four, however, the land-batteries began to fire on the squadron with considerable

siderable effect; on which the two bomb-vessels threw shells into the town, and set fire to it in some places \*.

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\* "On the arrival of the expedition before Ostend," says the Historian of the Late War (vol. ii. page 291), "the necessary preparations were made for a descent; and while the Wolverine, Wasp, and Biter, returned the fire of the batteries, the Hecla and Tartarus bombs threw their shells with such quickness and precision, that the town was set on fire in several places, and some little damage done to the shipping.

"In the mean time a landing was effected to the north-west, notwithstanding the violence of the gale, and many of the troops were actually put on shore before an alarm was given. As soon as the soldiers had formed, they proceeded to execute the object of the expedition, which had been undertaken for the express purpose of blowing up the bason, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation, by means of which transport-schuyts, instead of risking a voyage by sea, were enabled to keep up an intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders. General Coote accordingly burnt several boats, demolished the sluice-gates, and effected an explosion, by which he hoped to have destroyed a grand national work, which had cost the States of Bruges an immense sum of money, and occupied the labour of five years to complete.

"After having thus, as was supposed, rendered the canal of Bruges unserviceable, and prevented, for a time at least, the conveyance of naval and military stores, the Commander in Chief attempted about noon to retreat on board the shipping; but he soon discovered that the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, that this operation became impracticable. Upon this it was deemed proper to occupy a position upon the sand-hills at a distance from the beach, and, by way of gaining time, the Governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender: but this fate was unhappily reserved for the invaders themselves, as that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning; and all resistance

In the mean time, to prevent the enemy from guessing at the nature and intentions of the descent, a siege was threatened, and the Commandant of Ostend summoned \*.

At length the whole of the troops being landed, together with a body of sailors, and all the necessary implements of destruction, they marched directly to the sluice-gates, and blew them up ; but owing to a variety of occurrences, notwithstanding the explosion was attended with considerable effect, yet the entire completion of the object in view was not finally accomplished.

But as it was then supposed that the canal would

resistance being in vain, they surrendered after a gallant defence, in the course of which Major-general Coote was wounded.

"Captain Popham," it is added, "endeavoured without effect to obtain an exchange of prisoners ; and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had demolished : but it was soon found on inspection that the damage was but trifling, every thing being restored to its former state in the course of a few weeks."

\* The following is a copy of his answer to the joint summons transmitted by Major-general Coote and Captain Popham :

" Liberty.

Equality.

" Garrison of Ostend, 30th Floreal,  
sixth year of the Republic.

" General,

" The council of war was sitting when I received the honour of your letter. We have unanimously resolved not to surrender this place until we shall have been buried under its ruins.

(Signed) " MUSCAR,

" Commander of the Garrison of Ostend."

thenceforth

thenceforth be rendered useless, it was determined to reimbarc. This, however, was rendered impossible by the roughness of the sea ; so that, after remaining during the whole night on the sand-hills, Major-general Coote found himself completely surrounded on the morning of the 20th of May, and was at length obliged to capitulate.

We soon after find this active and enterprising commander returning to England, and, without having a moment's respite, flying to the confines of the Arctic circle with a degree of activity and zeal seldom before witnessed, on the part even of a British officer. The emperor Paul having evinced a disposition to join in an attempt to drive the French out of Holland, provided he received an indemnification, under the form of a subsidy, agreed to furnish Great Britain with a supply of seventeen thousand five hundred and ninety-three men, together with a detachment of six ships, five frigates, and two transports. Captain Popham was sent to superintend the embarkation of the troops, in quality of British commissary ; and having repaired to Russia, his Imperial Majesty signified a wish that the Nile lugger should be brought up close to the palace of Peterhoff, for his own immediate inspection. The emperor then repaired on board, accompanied by a single nobleman ; and this fine vessel having been got underweigh, he was gratified with a sail, at the conclusion of which he landed under a royal salute.

His Majesty's account of this expedition having  
excited

excited the curiosity of all the Imperial family, he himself conducted the Empress, four Princes, and three Princesses, with their retinue, to witness the same spectacle ; and as the visit was unexpected, and suitable refreshments had not been provided, they with much condescension insisted on partaking of the same fare as the sailors, and accordingly were served with *salt beef and hard biscuit* ! Paul, upon this occasion, was particularly attentive to the construction and management of this fine lugger. He himself visited and inspected every part of her ; and when the sails were hoisted to take advantage of the breeze he helped to haul the ropes, and assist in the working of a vessel belonging, as he himself expressed it, “ to his good brother and ally, the King of England ;” while, at the particular request of the Empress, the crew chanted the favourite song of “ God save the King !”

After visiting the ports of Cronstadt and Revel, and travelling six hundred miles within the polar circle, Captain Popham took leave of their Majesties. On this occasion he experienced many distinguished marks of the royal favour, having been presented by the Emperor in person with a very elegant gold snuff-box set with diamonds, and a large picture of the donor ; while the Empress very graciously sent him a diamond ring of considerable value. But this was not all ; for Paul, who had by this time assumed the title of Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, conferred on him the cross of Malta ; and we have

have some reason to think that he is the only knight whose promotion was ever formally recognized by the Court of St. James's\*.

On his return to England, after a boisterous passage by sea, and a tedious journey by land, Sir Home Popham retired to his house at Weybridge, worn out by fatigue, assailed by illness, and little solicitous of employment. But to an ardent mind, retirement soon ceases to have charms; and we accordingly find this officer on his recovery once more desirous of a public life, and embarking as before, in active service, with his accustomed ardour.

Captain, now Sir Home Popham, immediately repaired to Holland; and when the Duke of York took the command and advanced into the country, he rendered great and essential service to the army. Being intrusted, along with Captain Godfrey of the navy, with the management of three gun-boats, stationed

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\* LONDON GAZETTE.

“ Whitehall, Sept. 28, 1799.

“ The King has been pleased to grant to Captain Home Riggs Popham, of the Royal Navy, his royal licence and permission to receive and bear (in his own country) the insignia of Commander and Knight of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, with which he has been invested by his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Grand Master of the said Sovereign Order; and also to order that his Majesty's concession and declaration be registered in the College of Arms.”

When the British Cabinet afterwards declined to recognize his Imperial Majesty in the capacity alluded to above, this paragraph in the official Gazette of the Court of London was quoted as a proof of their inconsistency.

on the canal of Alkmaar, by means of these they protected the flanks of the Anglo-Russians, and so annoyed the advancing columns of the Gallo-Batavian army, as to be entitled to great credit: they were accordingly praised in the public dispatches, transmitted by the Commander-in-chief, for their spirited and judicious conduct.

It has already been hinted that to Sir Home the nation is indebted for the idea of a corps of sea fencibles. Perceiving that a numerous, active, and healthy description of fishermen, although they tended greatly to the wealth, added but little to the defence of the kingdom, he conceived a plan of training and rendering them permanently serviceable. Accordingly, in the spring of 1798, this class, which had hitherto been liable to be impressed, received written protections, on certain conditions, viz. that in garrisons and land batteries they should learn to exercise the great guns; and where these did not exist, to handle the pike, in such an efficacious manner as to be able to oppose an invading enemy either afloat or on shore. A post-captain, with a certain number of commanders and lieutenants, were accordingly appointed for a certain portion of sea-coast, with a very liberal allowance; while the men were to receive one shilling each muster; which generally occurring on a Sunday, interfered but little with their usual occupations.

In consequence of the arrangements then made, England was divided into districts, and Sir Home  
nominated

nominated to the command from Beachy Head to Deal, which he held until 1800 \*.

The following is the total number of men then raised on each coast, but which may at any time be rendered more numerous, as well as more serviceable, by an extension of the original plan :

	Fencibles.
1 Sussex . . . . .	814
2 Hampshire . . . . .	379
3 Isle of Wight . . . . .	579
4 Devonshire . . . . .	1268
5 Dorsetshire . . . . .	734
6 Kent . . . . .	389
7 Essex . . . . .	1205
8 Suffolk . . . . .	1142
9 Cornwall . . . . .	1143
10 Yorkshire . . . . .	about 1200

In 1800 we find Sir Home Popham employed in an important expedition, and on the 5th of December 1800 he sailed for the East Indies, accompanied by the following squadron :

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\* His head quarters were established at Dover ; and while there he procured a row-galley to be built at the port, so constructed as to carry one heavy gun ; at his instance, too, the Admiralty applied to the Treasury, to order three smuggling vessels lately taken by the custom-house cutters, to be delivered over to him for the purpose of being lengthened and fitted as galleys, with a view of preventing the French row-boats either reconnoitring the coast, or annoying the trade.

His services were now become so conspicuous, as to entitle him to a pension of five hundred pounds, which was accordingly conferred Dec. 26, 1799.

Ships.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
1 Romney . . .	50	Capt. Sir H. R. Popham.
2 Sensible . . .	36	— R. Sauce.
3 Sheerness ( <i>armée en flute</i> )	44	— Carden.
4 Wilhelmina ( <i>ditto</i> ) . .	44	— J. Lind.

As it had been determined by the English cabinet to drive the French from Egypt, it was wisely resolved at the same time to make use of all the resources presented by our foreign dominions, on purpose to give every possible assistance to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in an attempt at once so perilous and important. Asia accordingly poured forth her motley-coloured inhabitants; while a detachment of twelve hundred men was ordered from the Cape of Good Hope, which had been recently wrested from the Dutch.

On Sir Home's arrival at the latter place, the necessary preparations were made for the embarkation of the troops; and he sailed from thence on the 28th of February 1801, having on board the two flank companies and one battalion of the 61st, the dismounted troopers of the 8th regiment of cavalry, together with a detachment of artillery; the remainder of the forces having been prevented from accompanying him by the prevalence of an infectious disorder.

Before we proceed any further, it may not be improper to mention in this place, that no ship had ever been better fitted out than the Romney, in respect to every thing that could either facilitate the voyage, or prevent any possibility of mistake in regard to the reckoning. The chronometers and other instruments cost the Commodore more than  
twelve

twelve hundred pounds. All the lieutenants and midshipmen were obliged to furnish themselves with quadrants provided with glasses, for the express purpose of taking the altitude of the stars: and perhaps it is not too much to say, that so many latitudes were never before taken on board of any one ship, even including those of our modern circumnavigators. In addition to this, the Commodore took with him a draftsman, at his own expence, to whom he himself taught hydrography in his passage out, and by whose assistance he completed charts of the Red Sea, whither he was now bound.

On the 7th of May, this little squadron, after a very dilatory passage, had reached Mocha; and on its arrival at Juddah, the Commodore was happy to find the division of troops from India under the command of General Baird there. As it was of the utmost importance that this officer should arrive as soon as possible at the place of his destination, he was accordingly prevailed upon to accept of the accommodation of the Romney for himself and staff.

On the 7th of June, having reached Cosier, measures were immediately taken for disembarking the troops and stores. After this the subject of the present memoir, at the express instance of the Commander in Chief of the Indian army, intended to have accompanied the detachment across the Desert with a body of seamen, and even to have marched as far as Cairo; but he was prevented by orders from Admiral Blanket. He however proved eminently serviceable, by supplying small casks for the

carriage of the water, in lieu of the *mussacks* which had been sent from India, and were now found defective. He also appears to have attended to the interests both of Government and the India Company by a reduction of the enormous expence of tonnage, in respect to such vessels as had become unnecessary.

General Baird having marched for the Nile on the 30th of June, the Commodore left Cosier on the 2d of July, and revisited Juddah and Mocha; and as the Secret Committee of the East India Company, at the request of Mr. Dundas, who then presided at the Board of Control, had invested him with a political appointment, in order to enable him to treat with the Arabian Princes, he entered into a correspondence with the Sheriffe of Mecca and several of the country powers; while Mirza Mehendy Ally Khawn, the native political resident from the Bombay government at Juddah, proposed to dethrone his *Holiness*, under pretence of being an usurper.

Soon after this, instead of repairing to Bombay for stores and provisions, Captain Sir Home Popham deemed it more eligible to proceed to Calcutta, in order to have an interview with the Governor-General in person; which was afterwards converted into a charge against him. Accordingly, after a passage of seventeen days from the Red Sea, the *Romney* arrived in Balasore Roads, and proceeded to Mayapour, where his ship was refitted.

In consequence of an invitation from the Governor-General (the Marquis Wellesley) he immediately

ately visited him at Calcutta, at his special request afterwards accompanied his Lordship to Oude, and in the course of the journey pointed out, both in conversation and by memorials, the advantages that would accrue from a commercial intercourse between India and Arabia ; which, among other advantages, would ensure such a connection with the coffee country, as promised an absolute monopoly of that article.

On the other hand, his Excellency had planned an expedition, in the nature of a *coup de main*, which was to be undertaken by the troops about to be embarked for the Red Sea. Of this, as well as the arrangement of every thing relative to the transports and supplies for the army in Egypt, the whole direction was to have been conferred on Sir Home ; but in consequence of the intervention of some unexpected occurrences, the orders for this purpose were countermanded. This was announced to him in a very handsome letter, dated Burhampore, September 1, 1801, in which the Governor-General, after stating his reasons for abandoning the enterprise, expresses himself as follows :

“ I cannot, however, relinquish the armament which I had proposed to equip under your directions and with your assistance, without assuring you of the high sense which I retain of the zeal, talents, and knowledge, which you manifested in the communications which have passed between us, and of the confidence which I should have reposed in the success of any operation conducted by an officer of such

acknowledged enterprize and skill. I shall take an early occasion to record these sentiments for the information of the Court of Directors, and to submit them to his Majesty's ministers, with whom I correspond officially on all subjects of military detail.

“ With respect to your political mission to the Arab States, I shall immediately transmit a letter to you through the political department. I have directed the necessary orders to be sent to Fort William for providing you with tents and equipage for your journey from Mocha to Sennah. Under all the circumstances of the present crisis it appears to me that your most advisable course would be to return to the Red Sea as soon as the season will admit.

“ Notwithstanding that the result of your proceeding to this port does not now appear likely to be precisely answerable to your expectations of active service, or to my wish of availing myself of your exertions against Batavia, I must repeat my most sincere thanks to you for having with so much promptitude taken a measure which has enabled me to obtain a more accurate view of the state of our army in Egypt, as well as of the affairs of Arabia, than I could possibly have acquired in any other mode. You may be assured,” added his Lordship, “ that I shall offer to you the tribute of my public acknowledgment of the judgment, alacrity, and zeal for the service, which dictated a proceeding not only expedient under any circumstances, but highly proper and prudent in the crisis which existed at the time of your departure from the Red Sea.”

On

On the 14th of November 1801 Sir Home accordingly repaired on board the *Romney*, with an intention of proceeding to the Red Sea immediately ; but he was called back by an express from the vice-president in council, in consequence of a dispatch from England, intimating a strong suspicion that the French had sent an expedition against the Portuguese settlement of Macao, with a view of intercepting the ships employed in the China trade.

The Commodore immediately suggested the necessity of sending an engineer thither. The works were supposed to be out of repair ; and as some difficulty existed relating to the convoy of the transports, with a body of troops for its defence, he offered his services on this occasion, and also insisted on the propriety of attempting to gain possession of the Mauritius.

The necessary dispositions for the former measure were accordingly made ; but having arrived at Prince of Wales's Island on the 20th of December 1802, he there found Admiral Rainier, who directed the *Arrogant* and the *Orpheus* to proceed to Macao with the *Indiamen* ; and as his squadron was scantily supplied at that moment, part of the *Romney's* provisions and stores were taken out to enable the ships to perform this service.

On the 7th of January 1803, we find the Commodore in Madras Roads, whence he sailed once more for the Red Sea, and in the month of March anchored in the harbour of Suez. From this port he proposed to have gone to Alexandria, for the ex-

press purpose of conferring with General Baird relative to the embarkation of the troops, and other subjects of importance, but was prevented by the appearance of the plague in that city. On this, with a view of preventing any bad effects to the shipping in case it should reach Suez, measures were taken to remove the vessels from the roads, and to cut off all communication with the shore. In order to impress the commanders of such as had been chartered, with the necessity of the strictest attention, notice was given in general orders, that any ship catching the infection should be burnt ; and if this event proved to have arisen from negligence, the loss was to fall on the owners. All unnecessary communication with the Arabs was at the same time interdicted ; the very sheep were shorn and washed on shore before they were suffered to be brought on board ; while orders were given that even the poultry should be kept a certain time after it had been brought from any of the villages, before it was permitted to be embarked. These precautions, in addition to fumigation, and the appointment of a committee of health, no doubt proved eminently serviceable.

Having been nominated Ambassador to the States of Arabia by the Governor-General, the Commodore now entered into a regular correspondence with Houszer Mehmet Pacha, Vizier of three tails, Viceroy of Egitto, then residing at Grand Cairo, respecting an interchange of commodities with the Company's settlements in Asia, across the Desert, on paying certain stipulated duties ; but when he addressed

himself to the Sheriffe, who had just poisoned the Turkish Pacha at Mecca on his second visit to him, he was informed by his Vizier that an interview could not take place ; and that if he had any thing to communicate he might write to him at Taaf, a district famous for its gardens, as his Holiness “ was there eating fruit, and it was too much trouble to come to Juddah.” It appears that this prince, who united both a religious and civil character in his own person, was greatly attached to the French, and considered all those who were attentive to the English as the “ slaves of the hogs.”

Soon after this Sir Home dispatched Mr. Elliott, Secretary to the Embassy, together with Dr. Pringle and Lieutenant Lamb, on a mission to the Imaum at Sunna, with a proper escort ; while the Sultan of Aden deputed his son to wait on the Commodore at Mocha, and press an establishment in his dominions.

About this time also he himself accepted the invitation of the Pacha of Egypt to visit Cairo, on which occasion his Highness sent an officer of his household, with a troop of dromedaries and many led horses, to Suez ; and they agreed to terms highly favourable to the British nation, respecting the *tariff* of customs to be paid in the dominions of the Sublime Porte, on the coasts of the Red Sea, so as, among other advantages, to secure a complete monopoly of the coffee-trade. He also with the same views made a journey to Tais, in the course of which he appears to have experienced many indignities, and

was exposed to considerable danger\*, in consequence of the perfidy of the natives, particularly of the Dola of Mocha, who afterwards attempted to apologize for his conduct.

In the mean time preparations were made for re-embarking the Company's troops ; which being at length happily effected, Commodore Popham sailed for England, with the full approbation of the Governor-General of Bengal, one instance only excepted, relative to the political mission to the Arab States †.

On his arrival early in 1803 he found a new minister and a new board of admiralty ; while, in consequence of the prospect of a new war, the Romney was detained some time in the Downs, on the impress service, after which she proceeded to Sheer-

\* The embassy was detained at Kerrah four days, and at last purchased permission to proceed on its return to Mocha. At Orash, which is in the district of the Dola of Mocha, and the country contiguous to it, the ambassador and his suite received insults still more gross : one of the sheiks levelled his piece twice at the ambassador within ten yards, and declared he would shoot him, because he had no money about him to give by way of present : at Orash too a party seized on the dromedary of one of his suite, struck him, took away his sword, and tore his coat (the uniform of his majesty) from his back.

† “ To the Hon. the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

“ Fort William, February 28, 1803.

“ HONOURABLE SIRS,

“ Captain Sir Home Popham having proceeded on his return to Europe, the Governor-General in Council considers it to be  
his

ness, where the crew was employed in fitting out ships newly commissioned.

Soon after this her Captain received a note from Commissioner Hope, desiring him to call at his house, where he found Sir William Rule, Surveyor of the Navy, who appeared to have travelled to Chatham during the preceding night. These gentlemen immediately showed him a warrant under admiralty orders, commanding them to proceed on board the Romney, and, after examining into her state, as well as into the repairs done, to make a variety of other inquiries.

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his duty to take this occasion to express to your Honourable Court the high sense which the Governor-General in Council entertains of the eminent spirit of zeal and alacrity manifested by Sir Home Popham in promoting the interests of the Honourable Company to the extent of his power, on all occasions where his public services could be beneficially employed in facilitating the views and measures of the British Government in India.

“ The Governor-General in Council has great satisfaction in acknowledging to your Honourable Court, that the public service in India has derived material benefit and assistance from the active and able exertions of Sir Home Popham, on various important occasions.

“ The zeal and alacrity manifested by Sir Home Popham in promoting the arrangements for the conveyance of the troops, dispatched under the orders of the Governor-General in Council, for the eventual protection of the Portuguese establishments in Macao, merit the particular thanks and acknowledgments of the Governor-General in Council.

“ The exertions of Sir Home Popham in facilitating the return of the troops employed in the expedition to Egypt, under the authority vested in him by this Government, have afforded an additional

The surveyor, commissioner, builder, storekeeper, master-attendant, and other officers, assembled on board, where they remained some time; and then took on shore to the commissioner's office, the officers, warrant officers, and other people belonging to the ship. These gentlemen then established a committee or court, and proceeded to prepare affidavits; but previously to this Sir Home insisted on, and at length obtained, leave to be present during the inquiry. The various witnesses were then questioned as to the state of the ship when she left England, and also when she reached Calcutta? as to the necessity of any repairs? and whether such as had been

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ditional example of that officer's distinguished professional talents and public spirit.

"The conduct of Sir Home Popham, during his political mission to the Arab States, furnishes equal proofs of ability, industry, and attachment to the public service; and although the Governor-General in Council deemed it to be his duty to express his dissent from the policy of Sir Home Popham's proceedings in Egypt and other places, on the grounds stated in the dispatches from his Excellency to that officer,—his Excellency highly approves the general tenor of Sir Home Popham's conduct on the coasts of Arabia and of the Red Sea.

"Under these impressions, the Governor-General in Council considers it to be his duty to recommend the services and the active exertions of Sir Hope Popham in India to the distinguished notice and favour of your Honourable Court.

"We have the honour to be, Honourable Sirs,

"Your most faithful humble servants,

(Signed)

"WELLESLEY,

"G. H. BARLOW,

"G. UDNY."

made

made were absolutely necessary ? To these interrogatories the warrant-officers (for the lieutenants and master were not permitted to be examined) replied on oath, that she made much water in the British Channel, and that the evil increased daily ; that her bends were found very defective on caulking at the Cape ; that she made from six to eight feet water in an hour during her passage to Calcutta ; that her wales on the larboard side were found quite rotten ; and that no work was done to the ship but what was absolutely necessary to enable her to undertake any service whatever.

These and other questions of the like import having been asked on the subject of repair, her commander requested to put the following : Whether, if the Romney had not received the repairs in question, considering the weather experienced by her, she would not in all probability have gone to the bottom ? But this was objected to by the surveyor as unnecessary.

On being interrogated “ whether Captain Popham had given proper attention to the stores in the different departments, and whether there had been any wasteful or wanton expenditure of them ? ” the warrant-officers replied to the first in the affirmative, and to the second in the negative.

Further inquiries, however, took place ; documents and vouchers of all kinds were called for and inspected ; a Report was at length delivered in by the Navy Board, that afterwards became the subject of investigation before a committee of the House of Commons,

Commons, and in the concluding paragraph of which the commissioners acknowledged that they had departed from every official precedent, and acted in direct violation of established usage\*.

On his arrival in London from Chatham, when his pendant was ordered to be hauled down, Sir Home immediately attempted to wait on Lord St. Vincent, and accordingly called at the Admiralty, and wrote several letters soliciting that honour; but the Earl declined seeing him, and merely intimated, in a note dated July 3d, 1803, "that the Board had directed the Commissioners of the Navy to report on the subject of the expences incurred by the ships late under his orders in the East Indies; and that when that Report was received, a copy of it would be transmitted to Sir Home Popham, with such remarks as the Board might think fit to make."

On this he addressed another letter to his Lordship, dated "York-place, July 25, 1803," in which he stated a variety of facts, with a view of obviating any prejudices that might exist against him. After stating that the object of his command in the Red Sea had been fully completed, he referred the First Lord of the Admiralty to the official Reports of General Baird, the Earl of Cavan, and the Marquis of

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\* "We deem it necessary to state further to their Lordships, that the Report has been formed from the documents in office, without our having called on Sir Home Popham, *agreeably to our usual mode*, for an explanation of any of the circumstances referred to therein, conceiving it to have been their Lordships' intention that we should proceed in this manner."

Wellesley, which were enclosed under cover, in order to prove his zealous co-operation with the Indian army. He also observed, that he taught “ a numerous quarter-deck hydrography and practical astronomy, which enabled him, with the assistance of eight chronometers, and some very expensive instruments, to form a chart of the Red Sea, where he also established by practice the possibility of beating up against the monsoon, which was never before attempted.”

As the fact appears to have been evident, that his fit-out in some respects exceeded the usage of the service both in respect to the sails and rigging of the ship, as well as in regard to his boats, he took this opportunity to allude to the latter of these circumstances:

“ Colonel Harness’s letter, published by order of Lord Wellesley, will shew your Lordship, that, from the particular excellence of the Romney’s boats, and her well-trained boats’ crews, four hundred troops were saved from the wreck of the Calcutta, which no other boat could approach with safety. I mention this to prove to your Lordship, that if any deviation was made from the prescribed dimensions it was crowned with the most pleasing sort of success—the salvation of our fellow-creatures.

“ I need scarce mention to your Lordship, that while I was at Calcutta I never suffered a bill (nor does one exist in any part of India with my approbation) to be drawn at a higher exchange than two shillings and sixpence. I wrote to the Government on this subject, and waited on the Vice-President ;

to whom I said : ‘ if he did not supply the naval officer with money to repair the Romney, from the Company’s treasury, she might swamp in the river, and their interests, as far as regarded her, might go unprotected, as I never would sanction a bill to be drawn at a higher rate than the Company’s exchange.’

“ I am aware I was a very unpopular character at Calcutta, because I ordered all the provisions shipped from the army in Egypt to be surveyed ; and some were relanded and condemned on the quays :—nor was it my good fortune to be on the best terms with Mr. Louis, (*the naval officer*), although Admiral Raignier spoke of him in the highest terms when he officially announced to me his appointment, &c.

“ I have intruded myself very much on your Lordship’s leisure, with a view of convincing you I am not unworthy of active employment at this moment, and of having an opportunity of proposing some enterprise to your Lordship, which you might think expedient to be undertaken at so critical a moment, when it is incumbent on every officer possessing local knowledge, and the experience of making observations, to submit his ideas and plans to Government.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.”

As his Lordship still declined a personal interview, and referred him to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir Home immediately transmitted a letter to that as well as to the Navy Board, requesting his accounts  
to

to be investigated immediately, to call for his personal attendance whenever required, and to accelerate the Report on his conduct. This Report, which appears to have been drawn up by a gentleman who possessed the confidence of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and had lately obtained the place of a Commissioner of the Navy Board, at length made its appearance. It was certainly penned with ability, and contained a variety of implications, some of them of a very gross nature, particularly as to the expenditure of stores, the proceeding to Bengal instead of Bombay from interested motives, and the excessive charges attendant on the repairs there.

It must be candidly owned, that the gross charge\* of seventy-one thousand rupees, or about nine thousand pounds sterling, at the first blush appears extravagant; but if, on the other hand, the work done to the

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\* The following is an extract from the carpenter's bill :

	Rupees.	Sterling.
1. The head for planks, timber-wood of different descriptions, copper bolts, iron, copper for three sheets round the ship, &c. &c. about	30,000	£.3750
2. Labour of Europeans and black workmen, caulking inside and out, and all the repairs abaft	15,000	1825
3. The hire of vessels to receive the people, of budgerows and boats to carry all the stores, and bring anchors and cables over, &c. &c.	15,000	1825
	<hr/>	<hr/>

When the builder's percentage was added to this, the whole amounted to 71,000 9000  
Oiseau,

Oiseau, Heroine, La Forte, &c. was proved to have been performed on a scale to the full as expensive; and if no charge of participation could be brought home to the commander of the Romney, the only inference that can be fairly drawn is, that Bengal ought hereafter to be considered as a very improper place for refitting of any of His Majesty's ships.

In the mean time Captain Sir Home Popham, who had been absent from England during the general election in 1802, became desirous of a seat in parliament, and about this period was returned for the borough of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. As he had been both promoted and appointed to his late command during the Pitt administration, it is not to be wondered if he supported the right honourable gentleman, considered as its head when out of place, and declared himself pretty explicitly against the *Addingtonians*, more especially that portion of them who presided at the Board of Admiralty. He accordingly was very severe on the official state of the navy presented to the House, which indeed appears to have been drawn up with haste, and on this occasion he pointed out several gross errors in it.

His own conduct, however, was now soon threatened with parliamentary investigation; for a young member\* of great promise gave notice of his intention to move for a committee to inquire into the

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\* The Honourable Charles (now Lord) Kinnaird, member for Leominster, in the county of Hereford.

charges adduced in the report from the Navy Board, while one of his own officers was pressed by order of a member of the Board of Admiralty, and treated with a degree of rigour which afterwards became the subject of public animadversion. An *imprest* was also laid on his pay and half-pay, and notice was given to him, that the charges respecting the expenditure of the *Romney* were to be laid before the Commissioners of Inquiry into Naval Abuses.

In consequence of a sudden change in the administration, a new Minister, and a new First Lord, in a short time after this, presided at the heads of the Treasury and Admiralty Boards. Hopes were now entertained by the subject of this memoir, of being again employed; and accordingly a few months after the nomination of Lord Melville, who had before patronized him, he was appointed to the command of the *Antelope*.

It may be proper here to observe, that Lord Sidmouth, while in office, had been attracted by the report of certain experiments which had taken place in France, relative to the possibility of destroying an enemy's fleet by means never before put in practice. This fact was mentioned with such confidence in the House of Peers, that he invited the inventor to England, and thus gave birth to what was afterwards ludicrously termed the *Catamaran Expedition*.

As the gentleman with whom the scheme originated afterwards demanded an officer of known talents and intrepidity for its execution, Sir Home

Popham was now appointed for this purpose, and two vessels were actually destroyed off Boulogne during the summer of 1804. An attack on a grand scale being afterwards intended, the battery of Fort Rouge was chosen as the spot against which the united efforts of these new engines of destruction were to be tried. Accordingly on the 9th of December, in consequence of orders from Lord Keith, an effort was made for this purpose,\* under the

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\* Admiralty-Office, Dec. 15.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith, Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c. to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Monarch, off Ramsgate, Dec. 11, 1804.

SIR,

Divisions of the enemy's flotilla passing from the eastward towards Boulogne, having frequently when pursued by his Majesty's ships and vessels taken shelter in the harbour of Calais, their entry into which has been particularly covered and protected by the advanced pile battery of Fort Rouge, I considered it an object of some importance to effect the destruction of that work, and lately directed Captain Sir Home Popham, of the Antelope, among other objects, to hold in view a favourable opportunity for making this attempt. I now transmit, for their Lordships information, a letter, and the enclosures to which it refers, which I have received from that officer, reporting the result of an assault which he directed to be made upon it early on the morning of the 9th instant, and from which there is reason to conclude that the fort has sustained material damage; but that from the unfortunate circumstance of its not having been possible, under the existing state of the weather and tide, to carry up two of the explosion vessels to the point of attack, the injury has been far less extensive than might have been otherwise expected. The conduct of Lieutenant Hew Stuart, of the Monarch, on this recent occasion, cannot fail, I am sure, to excite their Lordships' admiration

inspection of the Captain of the Antelope, and considerable injury appears to have been sustained; but

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miration and praise. I have great pleasure in conveying to their Lordships Captain Sir Home Popham's testimony to his distinguished merit, and to the zealous and active assistance which he received from Captain Brownrigg, Lieutenant Lake, and Mr. Bartholomew.

(Signed)

KEITH.

Antelope, Downs, Dec. 10.

MY LORD,

I avail myself of the first moment of my return to the Downs to acquaint you, that towards noon on Saturday the 8th, the wind promised to come to the S. E. and knowing it to be your Lordship's intention to attack the enemy at every assailable point, I sent the Dart on the close of the evening, to an assigned station between Sengate and Fort Lapin, accompanied by the Susannah explosion-vessel and two carcasses, with a view of making an assault against Fort Rouge. Lieutenant Steuart, of the Monarch, commanded the explosion-vessel: Mr. Bartholomew, acting Lieutenant of the Antelope, had the charge of the first carcass intended to be applied, and Captain Brownrigg requested to take the other. Your Lordship is aware how difficult it is to ascertain the precise injury done to the enemy in an enterprise of this nature, which, in most cases, must be undertaken in the night; but that you may be possessed of the best information in that respect, I sent the Fox cutter, whose Master is an active intelligent man, and well acquainted with Fort Rouge, to reconnoitre the place as close as possible without risk; and I annex his report to Lieutenant Steuart's, as the clearest account that can be given of the able and officer-like manner in which the Susannah was placed, and the evident consequences of such an application, even under circumstances of considerable disadvantage. I very much regret that Mr. Bartholomew could not fetch the port; for I am positive he would have lashed the carcass to the piles: he, however, very prudently returned with it to the Dart; and although something prevented the second car-

as two of the explosion-vessels, in consequence of the state of the weather and tide, could not be brought up, it must be allowed that the public expectation was not fully gratified. On the other

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cass from going off, which evidently had been striking against the piles, from the indention at one end, yet he recovered and brought it also on board.

I am most perfectly satisfied with the zeal and activity which Captain Brownrigg manifested on this occasion; the Dart was admirably placed, and every assistance afforded from her that could insure the success of this service, which must now be considered as confined to the efforts of the *Susannah*; and I take this opportunity of most particularly recommending Lieutenant Stewart to your Lordship's notice; which, I hope, will also be extended to Mr. Bartholomew, notwithstanding he could not fetch the battery; and your Lordship must be alive to the enterprising conduct of these two officers on a former occasion. I cannot conclude my report without assuring your lordship, that Lieutenant Lake, of the *Locust* gun-brig, who was appointed to cover the gun-boats, behaved in a most exemplary manner, by keeping so close in as to draw all the fire upon his own vessel; and I have great satisfaction in stating, that not an officer or man was hurt in this operation. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

HOME POPHAM.

His Majesty's ship Dart, Dec. 10.

SIR,

In pursuance of your instructions, and according to the arrangement you made for the attempt on Fort Rouge only, I left this ship at two A. M. and proceeded in shore with the explosion-vessel in my charge, until the water shoaled to two and a half fathoms, when I tacked, and stood off so as to enable me to fetch the battery, which I did about half-past two, and placing her bowsprit between the piles, left her in that situation. In a few minutes I observed her swing with her broadside to the battery, in consequence the bowsprit being carried away; and as an anchor was dropped the instant she struck the piles, I had

not

hand, it must be confessed, that a fair trial, under favourable circumstances, of this new combination of mechanics and gun-powder, has not yet been made.\*

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not the smallest doubt of her remaining there until the explosion took place, which was in a few minutes. I could not fetch the covering brig, and as it had every appearance of coming on to blow from the S. E. in which quarter it was when I left the Dart, I hope you will excuse my running in the galley to the Downs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

HAW STEUART.

Fox Cutter, off Calais, Dec. 10.

SIR,

According to your order, I proceeded off Fort Rouge, and examined it very strictly. As I proceeded towards the shore I saw a great quantity of plank and timber floating, and would have picked up some, but was afraid I should lose the tide, as I wished to examine it at low water. In standing in I could discern a great number of people all around the S. W. end of the fort, and from the West head all the way to the Sand Hills. I did not discover any alteration on the east side of the fort; but when I got to the westward of the fort, I could plainly discover the most part of it to be damaged, and the breast work knocked down; and I have every reason to believe it was very much injured, by such a number of people being assembled there, and seeming at work upon it.

(Signed)

W. BLAKE.

\* The failure of a single experiment affords no decisive proof of the inefficacy of any new process. We shall produce a proof of this from the history of modern warfare: About the latter end of the fifteenth century, a Genoese officer, while besieging Scresanella, a castle belonging to the Florentines, attempted to introduce a mine under the walls, with intent to blow the place up by means of gun-powder. He did not succeed, however, and the project appears to have been abandoned until 1503, when Peter Navarro obtained possession of the castle Del Ovo by the means just alluded to.

Soon after this Sir Home joined the Channel fleet, and it was intended that he should be entrusted with a separate command; but as an inquiry was depending, it was deemed proper on due consideration to wait the result.

A select committee having been chosen for this purpose, the members after a long and minute investigation, agreed to two reports, which were ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, on the 24th of June 1805. It appeared from these:

1st. That several of the Commissioners of the Navy Board had been induced to subscribe their signatures to the report from that office already alluded to, without any previous examination, in consequence of the reliance placed on the accuracy and ability of one of their members who had drawn it up.

2. That the pamphlet entitled, "An Answer to a printed Paper called, 'A Concise Statement of Facts,' was published by Mr. Benjamin Tucker, with the concurrence of Lord St. Vincent, to whom it had been shewn in manuscript.

3. That several of the vouchers on which the report of the Navy board relative to Sir Home Popham was framed had been lost, and could not be produced.

4. That no precedent had been adduced to support the forcible seizure of Mr. Bartholomew, who had acted as a Master's Mate on board the Romney, and was seized by a press-gang, stationed at the Admiralty for that purpose; and that it was the concurring opinion of three naval officers, viz. Admiral Berkeley,

Berkeley, and Captains Cardin and Winthorp, that it was contrary to the usage of the navy; the first in particular describing it "to be a most arbitrary act, that must disgust all young men who have nothing but their merits to recommend them, and likely therefore to be highly injurious to his Majesty's service."\*

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\* Abridgment of the First Report from the Committee relative to Sir Home Popham, &c. :

Your committee having taken into consideration that part of the reference which relates to the repairs and stores of the *Romney* and *Sensible*, find, from the papers referred to them, and the evidence they have received, that there does not appear any ground whatever to impute to Sir Home Popham any fraud or connivance at any fraudulent or corrupt practice whatsoever.

With respect to the *Sensible*, your committee observe, that Sir Home Popham appears to have ordered that ship to proceed to Calcutta from the Red Sea (instead of sending her to be repaired at Bombay) for the purpose of furnishing a convoy to several transports and merchantmen bound to Bengal: that he gave to her commanding officer Captain Sauce, at Calcutta, orders dated the 11th of October 1801, "to use his utmost exertions to repair the said ship," and "to complete her with six months stores;" and that as Captain Sauce never rejoined him after the execution of those orders, Sir Home Popham cannot be considered answerable for the manner in which they were executed. Your committee do not mean, by this remark, to impute any blame to Captain Sauce, not having considered any transaction relating to the *Sensible*, as the subject of the reference made to them, further than as such transaction could be connected with the conduct of Sir Home Popham.

Your committee observe, that Sir Home Popham appears to have gone on shore, from the *Romney*, a few days after her arrival in the river Hughly, in August 1801, and before her arrival at Mayapour: and to have proceeded up the country in compliance with the desires of Marquis Wellesley (with whom he was specially directed by his instructions to communicate) for the

It may be now necessary to mention some miscellaneous circumstances that could not be introduced into the narrative part of this life.

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purpose of conferring with his Lordship concerning certain great objects then in contemplation, in which Marquis Wellesley required his advice and assistance; that he left that ship under the command of the First Lieutenant, Mr. Davies, an officer in whose integrity and knowledge of the service he states himself to have had the utmost confidence; and that he did not return on board the *Romney* till after that ship had sailed from Mayapour: it appears therefore to your committee, that if the sails and stores of the *Romney*, sent on shore at Calcutta, were not regularly surveyed before they were condemned (a point which your committee, owing to the circumstances of the ship having no Master, the Boatswain being sick at the time, and of Mr. Davies, the First Lieutenant, being now absent from England, are not able correctly to ascertain), the blame of such irregularity is not to be imputed to Sir Home Popham; and in support of this observation, your committee beg leave particularly to refer to the evidence of Captain Bowen.

Your committee find, that the quantity of stores demanded by Sir Home Popham, while the *Romney* was under repair, and supplied by Mr. Louis, who had been previously appointed by Admiral Rainier, his Majesty's Deputy Naval Officer at Calcutta, exceeded the quantity allowed for a twelvemonth's expenditure, estimating that quantity according to the calculation made in his Majesty's Dock Yards, and mentioned in the report of the Navy Board of the 20th of February 1804; but that Sir Home Popham has accounted for this circumstance, by stating that he did not confine his demand to a provision of stores for any particular period, but took on board as large a supply as the ship could conveniently carry, having a view in demanding such stores to the probable exigencies of the service upon which he expected to be employed.

Your committee find, that Sir Home Popham, in addition to the sails which were allowed by the establishment of the navy, ordered several to be made and supplied for the use of the *Romney*, which were not authorized by the strict rules of the service;

but

In the autumn of 1803, being threatened both with a civil prosecution and a parliamentary inquiry,

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but it appears to your committee, from the concurrent testimony of several persons examined on the subject, and particularly from that of Captain Mason, who speaks from experiments made under his own observation, that those extra sails were highly advantageous in the Indian Seas.

Your committee have not thought proper to state in this report some other instances in which Sir Home Popham appears to have deviated from the strict rules of the service, by directing the naval officer to supply him with articles, for the use of the *Romney*, which are described in the evidence, and were not conformable to the usages of the navy; such irregularities appearing to your committee to be wholly unworthy of parliamentary attention, or of any other notice but that which of course they ought to have received, according to the customs of the service, in the consideration of Sir Home Popham's accounts, when any extra charge would be disallowed, unless deemed to have been expedient under the circumstances of each particular case.

Your committee however think themselves called upon, in strict justice to Sir Home Popham, distinctly to state, that they have not met with any instance, in effecting the repairs, or in the supply or expenditure of stores, which has been attended with any personal advantage or emolument to himself; nor your committee the least reason to suspect, from the evidence before them, that his conduct, upon any occasion in which the rules of the navy have not been rigidly observed, was influenced by any private consideration; but, on the contrary, your committee feel it to be their duty to observe, that Sir Home Popham appears to have been actuated by no other motive but that of an ardent zeal for the public service.

Your committee do not think it necessary to state their observations, in detail, upon all the points mentioned in the report of the Navy-board of the 20th of February 1804; conceiving, that as far as relates to Sir Home Popham, that document appears to them to be materially inaccurate.

Your committee observe, that Sir Home Popham appears to have used his utmost endeavours to obtain money, for drafts on England,

Sir Home Popham drew up and printed a pamphlet, entitled "A Concise Statement of Facts," for the

England, upon the most favourable terms for the expences of the squadron under his command.

Your committee have thought it their duty, in justice to the character of a meritorious officer (who, so far from encouraging or conniving at any public waste, appears, in evidence before your committee, to have effected very considerable savings) to make a special report on the circumstances of his case, being the first head of their inquiry; though the evidence, on which their report is founded, is so blended with that which relates to the other particulars referred to them, that they must postpone reporting that evidence, until the other heads of inquiry are also brought to a conclusion.

*Abridgment of the Second Report of the Select Committee, &c.*

The first part of this report relates chiefly to the correspondence which took place between the Admiralty and Navy Boards and Sir Home Popham, and between Lord St. Vincent and that officer, on the subject of his account.

The next part of this report relates to Mr. Tucker, by whom the report of the Navy Board now under consideration was drawn up. It appears that the Commissioners of the Navy deemed the matter contained in the report of the 20th of February 1804, to be of a very grave and serious nature; notwithstanding which they did not enter into an examination of the facts and documents, on which this report was formed. In explanation of which circumstance, and as an excuse for lending the sanction of their names to such a statement, without some previous examination of the facts upon which it was founded, several members of the Navy Board stated, that they were prevented from entertaining any suspicion of error or mis-statement by the reliance which they placed on the accuracy and ability of Mr. Tucker.

The third head of the committee's inquiry was the publication of the report of the Navy Board, dated the 20th of February 1804. That report, it appears, was first published in a pamphlet, entitled, "An Answer to a printed Paper, called, a Concise Statement of Facts." The committee observe that this pamphlet was published by Mr. Benjamin Tucker, who stated to the committee

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purpose of distribution among his friends, with a view to exhibit the exertions made, and perils encountered by him in the service of his country. An-

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that he did publish it by the advice of Lord St. Vincent, and with the concurrence of his Lordship, (to whom he had shewn a manuscript draft of it before it was published) for the sole purpose of doing away impressions that had been made on the public mind against the Admiralty Board, by the circulation of that printed paper, entitled, "A Concise Statement of Facts," and attributed to Sir Home Popham.

The committee state that several of the documents and vouchers on which the report of the Navy Board, relative to Sir Home Popham, was framed, had been lost and cannot now be produced; but that there is no evidence which could warrant a conclusion that they were surreptitiously removed or wilfully destroyed for any improper purpose.

The next head of inquiry is the circumstance relating to the impressing of Mr. David Ewen Bartholomew.

In respect to the impressing of Mr. Bartholomew, it does not appear to your committee that any case which can be called a precedent for this proceeding, has been brought to support it; and on the questions, whether it ought or ought not to be deemed a violation of the usage of the navy, or likely to be injurious to his Majesty's service, your committee find it to be the concurring opinion of three naval officers, namely, Admiral Berkeley, and Captains Cardin and Winthorp, which opinion has been opposed by those of Admiral Markham and Captain Richbell, that the impressing of Mr. Bartholomew was a violation of the usage of the navy: Admiral Berkeley, in particular, speaking of it as a most arbitrary and violent act, that must disgust all young men who have nothing but their merits to recommend them, and likely therefore to be highly injurious to his Majesty's service, &c.

On Wednesday, July 5, 1805, Sir William Burroughs gave notice "that he should early in the next session of parliament, bring forward a motion, the object of which would be, that Sir Home Popham might feel himself acquitted by the voice of the House, as well as of the committee, from the charges brought against him respecting the repairs of the Romney and Sensible."

"Answer"

“ Answer” to this having been published by a gentleman connected with the Admiralty, in 1805, he immediately reprinted his former tract, with many additions. This was soon succeeded by a “ Continuation;” and he complains bitterly in both, that the “ Observations” alluded to above, had been sent under cover to the sea-ports, and even distributed on board the squadron he commanded under Admiral Lord Keith.

The establishment of a naval dock in India for the building of ships of the line, having engaged the attention of Lord Melville, as well as the Governor General, who had entered into a long correspondence on this subject, in 1805 he published “ A Description of Prince of Wales Island in the Streights of Malacca, with its real and probable Advantages and Resources to recommend it as a Marine Establishment.” Sir Home, who had been there several times, observed, among other things:

1st, That the jungle or wild nutmeg grows there, and that the real nutmeg, cinnamon, and clove, might be cultivated to advantage.

2nd, That it is far more eligible than either Bombay or Bengal for this purpose.

3d, That it is one of the most healthy spots in India, and abounds with fresh water.

4th, That it produces much timber; and if the teak-tree does not grow in the island, it is contiguous to the Teak country.

And 5th, That it possesses an excellent harbour.

He afterwards supported his opinions on this subject at a General Court in the India House; but we believe

believe the Proprietors as well as Directors became disgusted on account of the persons proposed to fill up the various new offices that were to have been created, as well as the enormous salaries that were to have been granted.

Sir Home has greatly improved *telegraphic signals*, as applied to maritime affairs. He has drawn up a vocabulary for this purpose, which, as well as the *modus operandi*, have been enumerated and described in a printed book that has not, and perhaps ought not, to be circulated. From a cursory inspection of it, we perceive that it combines all the advantages of the alphabetical, together with those of the numerical arrangement, and appears to be superior to any hitherto discovered. It has been repeatedly tried, and was used for all the communications between the army and navy on the coast of the Red Sea. A course of experiments was also made on board Admiral Louis's fleet, and messages were conveyed from the bay of Boulogne to Dungeness by its means in the space of eleven minutes.

As the enemy, when not embarked in a war on the continent, will doubtless seize every occasion to harrass us by the threat of an invasion, it may not be amiss to state his opinion on that subject in this place, with some additional information of our own.

The coasts of Essex, Sussex, and Kent, being the only ones that can be considered within the narrow seas, are alone subject to a general invasion; it therefore becomes an object of some consequence to ascertain what wind will permit the transports to sail  
out

out of every port in Holland, to the eastward of Havre de Grace, and at the same time insure the smoothest water on the coast of England, “because they can have no covering navy, and must very much depend on small vessels for the purpose of disembarkation.

The wind from E. to E. N. E. will enable them to sail from the Brille, Helvoetsluys, and Flushing, for the southern part of Suffolk, and the coast of Essex; that is, from Orfordness to Malden River. The distance across the sea may be about thirty-five leagues.

From Sluys, Ostend, Nieuport, and Dunkirk, the same wind will carry them through the Queen’s and South Channels, up the Swale; and the distance from Sluys, which is the easternmost port, to Faversham, will not exceed thirty leagues. The Dutch turbot-men are as well acquainted with the coasts of Kent and Essex, and the channels leading to the Thames, as our own pilots.

But taking it for granted, that the invasion will be confined to the narrow seas, the places from which an embarkation can be made, unless Guernsey or Jersey should be first attempted, are those between Gravelines and Havre, viz.

1. Gravelines,	6. St. Vallery,	} Distance to the S.W. coast of Kent, and coast of Sussex, from 15 to 25 leagues.
2. Calais,	7. Triport,	
3. Boulogne,	8. Dieppe,	
4. Etapelles,	9. Fescamp,	
5. Crotoy,	10. Havre de Grace,	

The fleet in the Downs, with the Goodwin Sands, are such securities to the coast between the Two Forelands, that little is to be apprehended in that space.

space. In Eastware Bay, which is about a mile and a quarter long, a landing may be effected; but it is so surrounded by cliffs, that the attempt would be dangerous.\*

From a little eastward of Folkstone, to the sea wall near Dymchurch, there is a fine bay of six miles, in which infantry may land at any time, and cannon and cavalry be landed at half-tide; and in many places, particularly near Sandgate castle,† the shore is so bold that large ships may anchor within half a mile, in case Dutch men-of-war are employed to cover their landing.

To the westward of Dymchurch, the land begins to trend to the southward, and consequently the E. N. E. wind, which is the best for a general invasion, would make so much sea from thence to the Ness Point, that it would be impossible to attempt a landing; independent of which, the shore is so flat at and near Romney, that the enemy could only land infantry in small boats, except at high water.

From the Ness Point to the entrance of Rye Old Harbour, there is a fine steep shingle beach, and with an easterly wind the sea is as smooth as possible. From Rye Old Harbour, to Hooksledge, or

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\* In addition to the natural defence from the high grounds that overlook Eastware Bay, three Martello towers were built during the summer of 1805.

† Since the above was written, the keep of Sandgate Castle is converted into a Martello tower. Shorn Cliff is provided with cannon of a large calibre, and a military canal in part cut from the latter to the neighbourhood of Rye.

the end of Pitlevel, a distance of five miles, there is an uncommon fine beach of sand and shingle, on which, with an easterly wind, a debarkation to any extent may be made; and in this space is a harbour, called Providence Harbour, formed by a natural beach thrown up parallel to the shore, and at right angles with the entrance of Rye New Harbour, in which Captain Popham has seen fifteen square-rigged vessels at a time. Large cutters, drawing eleven feet of water, also use it; but as there is not more than two feet at low water, any vessels sent there must take the ground. It is perhaps also, he thinks, under the range of mortars from Winchelsea terrace.

From Hooksledge to Hastings, there is an inaccessible cliff of five miles, having only two narrow passes, Ecclesbourne\* and Govers. From Hastings to Bowpeep Barracks, the shore is rocky, and a landing would be attended with some risk at low water; but from Bowpeep to Bulverhithe, a distance of two miles, there is probably as fine a beach as any in the world to land infantry, cavalry, or cannon: and large ships may anchor within half a mile of the shore.

From Bulverhithe Point, about four miles to the westward, the shore rocky, and cannot be used at low water; but from thence to Beachyhead, there is

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\* Barracks have been since built, and cannon mounted, in this neighbourhood.

† A ditch or canal was dug here last summer across the flat, and the heights are mounted with cannon of a large calibre.

in general so fine a beach, that a landing may be made at any time of tide; but an E. N. E. wind would make a considerable sea from Pevensy to Langley Point, as the coast trends there much to the eastward; but from Langley Point nearly to the pitch of Beachy Head, the water would be perfectly smooth. Although some spots between Hastings and Beachy are rocky, yet they are not to be considered as barriers to a general debarkation in this bay, which is spacious, and possesses the advantage of having been used with success on a former occasion.\*

From Beachy Head to Selsey Bill, some partial spots are rocky; but an E. N. E. wind makes such smooth water along the coast, that the rocks can scarcely be said to prevent any part of it being used for the purpose of debarkation.

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Sir Home Popham, who has been some years married to a very handsome and very amiable woman, by whom he has a numerous family, lately sailed from Cork, in the *Diadem*, on a secret expedition the precise object of which we do not profess ourselves to be acquainted with, although it has been already detailed with great confidence in the public papers.

Before we conclude the article relative to him, we deem it necessary to observe, although we trust it is already apparent to every reader of discernment, that this life has not been written either

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\* In 1804, the foundation of a range of Martello towers was laid, and they are now completed.

bias to party principles, or personal attachment in respect to an individual. We have been content with a simple narrative, without presuming to inflict censure on the enemies of Sir Home on the one hand, or become his panegyrist on the other. That he appears to possess zeal, activity, and talents, we most willingly acknowledge in common with his warmest admirers; while we at the same time readily agree with his bitterest enemies, that in case of a perversion of any of these qualities, he ought to be subjected to the severest animadversion and punishment.



### THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

IT is equally the pride and the consolation of all the natives of the British empire, that they enjoy many distinguished and pre-eminent advantages, and these too, in a manner peculiar to themselves. One of these, and surely not the most contemptible, is the eligibility to the greatest offices in the state. While in most other nations a favoured few only, whose chief pretext to distinction is too often founded on the adventitious circumstance of birth alone, monopolize all the honours and all the emoluments of office, the cottage as well as the castle here furnishes candidates for the first employments which the sovereign of a free people can bestow.

The most wretched peasant among us, while dandling her infant son, is enabled to survey the  
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boy with an honest pride; fully conscious, that in case he possesses talents, he is capable of aspiring to that station, which will enable him to rank next to the princes of the blood-royal. This idea consoles the fond parent for the hardships incident to her humble situation; it adds to the natural interest which she takes in a babe that has reposed in, and fed upon the product of her bosom, and inclines her to make every sacrifice in order to obtain a suitable education for a child who may one day become either a metropolitan or lord-chancellor, and be fated like Wolsey,

“ To sit beneath the canopy of kings.”

Our schools and colleges too, notwithstanding the many evils arising out of modern example, added to modern innovation, must be allowed in some points of view to claim a high share of praise. In one of them, all *titular* distinctions are suspended; and although in others a *gold tuft* is worn by way of characteristic, yet on the whole, the manners of our public seminaries must be confessed to be at least manly, and the characters of the pupils, in general independent.

But what is chiefly meant to be pointed out on this occasion is, the facility with which early friendships are there formed, and the exemplary fidelity with which they are frequently kept up. To these the sons not only of the more opulent are usually sent, but there are a multitude of munificent institutions which also present an opening to the children of those in less affluent circumstances.

Thus out of a daily communication, and similarity of habits, arise many of those connections which at once prove gratifying and advantageous. From the companions of his early studies, the ingenuous youth selects his future friends. Among these the young nobleman discovers the favoured clients of a future day in the associates of the present. The clergyman too, not unfrequently finds a patron in a school fellow; while it is well ascertained that out of the familiarities of a college life, an habitual intercourse has originated, and those powerful interests been formed, which lead to the first honours of the bar, the pulpit, and the state.

Mr. Canning, who is supposed to have profited by some of the circumstances just alluded to, is descended from a respectable family in Ireland. His father, the late George Canning, Esq. having left his native country, settled in this, and is said to have displeased one of his parents by an early marriage with a lady destitute indeed of the gifts of fortune, but neither devoid of beauty nor accomplishments. The old gentleman, however, proved inexorable; and is said to have confined his bounty, both present and future, within the narrow limits of an allowance of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. In this situation the son became a member of the honourable Society of the Middle Temple, was called to the bar, and published several excellent tracts in favour of public liberty. But he is better known as a poet than either a lawyer or a politician; having ranked with the Whiteheads, the Keates, and the Cawthornes of his day.

day. It was he who composed the verses supposed to have been written by Lord William Russel, addressed to Lord William Cavendish, on the night preceding his execution.\* He was also the author

\* This epistle, which is dated from Newgate, on the night of Friday, July 20, 1683, begins thus :

“ Lost to the world, to-morrow doom’d to die,  
Still for my country’s weal my heart beat high.  
Though rattling chains ring peals of horror round,  
While night’s black shades augment the savage sound,  
Midst bolts and bars the active soul is free,  
And flies, unfetter’d, Cavendish, to thee !

“ Thou dear companion of my better days,  
When hand in hand we trod the paths of praise ;  
When leagu’d with patriots we maintain’d the cause  
Of true religion, liberty, and laws,  
Disdaining down the golden stream to glide,  
But bravely stemm’d corruptions rapid tide ;  
Think not I come to bid thy tears to flow,  
Or melt thy gen’rous soul with tales of woe.  
No ; view me firm, unshaken, undismay’d,  
As when the welcome mandate I obey’d.—  
Heavens ! with what pride that moment I recall !  
Who would not wish so honour’d thus to fall ?  
When England’s genius hov’ring o’er, inspir’d  
Her chosen sons, with love of freedom fir’d,  
Spite of an abject, servile, pension’d train,  
Minions of power, and worshippers of gain,  
To save from bigotry its destin’d prey,  
And shield three nations from tyrannic sway.”

The following parting lines are addressed to his lady :

“ O ! my lov’d Rachel ! all-accomplish’d fair !  
Source of my joy, and soother of my care !  
Whose heavenly virtues, and unfading charms,  
Have bless’d through happy years, my peaceful arms !

of a number of fugitive productions, such as "A Birth-day Offering to a Young Lady from her Lover," beginning with,

" Ere this short winter's day be gone,  
My Mary-Anne is twenty one," &c.

Mr. Canning having died April 11, 1771, soon after the birth of his son who had been named George after him, the care, and we believe the expence, of his education, devolved on an uncle, a respectable merchant of the city of London, by whom he was sent to Eton. We are unable to particularize the precise period when he was entered a member of that celebrated seminary; but certain it is, that the year 1786 may be considered as the era when he attained a distinguished rank among his contemporaries.

He was then one of the senior scholars, and this epoch has been considered by some as the Augustan age of that institution; but others better acquainted with the history of the times, will perhaps be inclined to think that the days of the Storers, the Carlises, and the Foxes, have a previous as well as a superior claim to this distinction.

It was on Monday the 6th of November 1786, that the first paper of the "Microcosm" appeared which continued to be published in weekly num-

Parting with thee into my cup was thrown,  
Its harshest dregs else had not forc'd a groan! —  
But all is o'er—these eyes have gaz'd their last—  
And now the bitterness of death is past."

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bers until Monday, July 30, 1787, when it closed, in consequence of the sudden death of Gregory Griffin, Esq. the editor; and from his last will and testament we learn, all the papers with the signature A were written by Mr. John Smith, afterwards of King's College, Cambridge; that those with the signature B were composed by George Canning; those signed C by Mr. Robert Smith; those marked D by Mr. John Frere; and those designated by D, by Mr. Joseph Mellish, Mr. B. Way, and Mr. Littlehales. The amiable and intelligent Mr. Capel Loft, although then a veteran in literature, did not disdain to furnish a letter, which was received with marked distinction by this juvenile band.

It would be a ridiculous as well as an invidious task to criticise a periodical performance of this kind; it may be fully sufficient to observe, that it is not a little credible to young men of fifteen or sixteen years of age in two points of view: first, in respect to the *talents* with which it was conducted; and secondly, to the degree of *application* required amidst the seductions of puerile enjoyments on one hand, and the laborious duties enforced in a great school on the other.

The portion of this work, which has now passed through three editions, claimed on the part of the subject of this memoir, consists of ten or twelve papers. No. II. has for its motto.

“Jurare—et fallere numen.”

VIRG.

To swear and forswear.

This is entirely directed against the contemptible practice alluded to in the motto. We are there told, that this vice is not confined to the males, but that even the female sex have caught the contagion: "as there is scarce a mercer's wife in the kingdom but has her innocent unmeaning imprecations, her little oaths softened into nonsense, and with squeaking treble, mincing blasphemy, into *odsbodikins*, *slitterkins*, and such like, will swear you like a sucking dove, ay, an it were any nightingale.'

"That this is one of the accomplishments of boys," adds he, "is more than sufficiently obvious, when there is scarce one, though he be but five years old, that does not lisp out the oaths he has heard drop from the mouths of his elders; while the happy parent congratulates himself on the early improvement of his offspring, and smiles to discover the promising seeds of manly wit in the sprightly sallies of puerile execration. On which topic," continues the writer, "I remember to have heard an honest Hibernian divine, whose zeal for morality would sometimes hurry him a little beyond the limits of good grammar or good sense, in the height of declamation, declare, that *the little children that could neither speak nor walk; run about the streets blaspheming.*"

After ridiculing this too prevalent practice, he recommends to any of the adepts, who may have profited by "the early advantages of a Billingsgate education," to stand forth as a teacher in the never-to-be-sufficiently-extolled, all-expressive, all comprehensive,

hensive, *art of swearing*. He also proposes that he should publish *The complete Oath Register, or Every Man his own Swearer, together with Sentimental Oaths for the Ladies, and Execrations for the Current Year*.

At the end of No. V. we find some verses above mediocrity, entitled, "The slavery of Greece," under the same signature, which we shall here transcribe:

"Unrivall'd Greece! thou ever-honour'd name,  
Thou nurse of heroes dear to deathless fame!  
Though now to worth, to honour all unknown,  
Thy lustre faded, and thy glories flown;  
Yet still shall Memory with reverted eye  
Trace thy past worth, and view thee with a sigh.

"Thee Freedom cherish'd once with fostering hand,  
And breath'd undaunted valour through the land;  
Here the stern spirit of the Spartan soil,  
The child of Poverty, inur'd to toil.

"Here lov'd by Pallas and the sacred Nine,  
Once did fair Athen's tow'ring glories shine.  
To bend the bow, or the bright faulchion wield,  
To lift the bulwark of the brazen shield,  
To toss the terror of the whizzing spear,  
The conqu'ring standard's glitt'ring glories rear,  
And join the madd'ning battle's loud career.

"How skill'd the Greeks; confess what Persians slain  
Were strew'd on Marathon's ensanguin'd plain;  
When heaps on heaps the routed squadron fell,  
And with their gaudy myriads peopled hell.  
What millions bold Leonidas withstood;  
And seal'd the Grecian freedom with his blood;  
Witness Thermopylæ! how fierce he trod!  
How spoke a hero, and how mov'd a God!  
The rush of nations could alone sustain,  
While half the ravag'd globe was arm'd in vain.  
Let Leuctra say, let Mantinea tell,  
How great Epaminondas fought and fell!

"Nor

“ Nor war’s vast art alone adorn’d thy fame,  
‘ But mild philosophy endear’d thy name.’

Who knows not, sees not with admiring eye,  
How Plato thought, how Socrates could die ?

“ To bend the arch or bid the column rise ;  
And the tall pile aspiring to the skies ;  
The awful scene magnificently great,  
With pictur’d pomp to grace, and sculptur’d state ;  
This Science taught ; on Greece each science shone,  
Here the bold statue started from the stone ;  
Here, warm with life, the swelling canvas glow’d ;  
Here, big with life, the poet’s raptures flow’d ;  
Here Homer’s lip was touch’d with sacred fire,  
And wanton Sappho tun’d her am’rous lyre ;  
Here bold Tyrtæus rous’d th’ enervate throng  
Awak’d to glory by th’ inspiring song ;  
Here Pindar soar’d a nobler, loftier way,  
And brave Alcæus scorn’d a tyrant’s sway ;  
Here gorgeons Tragedy, with great control  
Touch’d ev’ry feeling of th’ impassioned soul ;  
While in soft measure tripping to the song,  
Her comic sister lightly danc’d along.——

“ This was thy state ! But oh ! how chang’d thy fame,  
And all thy glories fading into shame.

What ? that thy bold, thy freedom-breathing land,  
Should crouch beneath a tyrant’s stern command ;  
That servitude should bind in galling chain,  
Whom Asia’s millions once oppos’d in vain ;  
Who could have thought ? Who sees without a groan,  
Thy cities mould’ring and thy walls o’erthrown ?  
That where once tower’d the stately solemn fane,  
Now moss-grown ruins strew the ravag’d plain ;  
And unobserv’d but by the trav’ler’s eye,  
Proud vaulted domes in fretted fragments lie ;  
And thy fall’n column on the dusty ground,  
Pale ivy throws its sluggish arms around.

“ Thy sons (sad change !) in abject bondage sigh ;  
Unpitied toil, and unlamented die ;

Groan

Groan at the labours of the galling oar,  
 Or the dark caverns of the mine explore.  
 The glittering tyranny of Othman's sons,  
 The pomp of horror which surrounds their thrones,  
 Has aw'd their servile spirits into fear;  
 Spurn'd by the foot, they tremble and revere.

“ The day of labour, night's sad sleepless hour,  
 Th' inflictive scourge of arbitrary pow'r,  
 The bloody terror of the pointed steel,  
 The murd'rous stake, the agonizing wheel,  
 And (dreadful choice!) the bow-string or the bowl,  
 Damps their faint vigour, and unmans the soul.

“ Disastrous fate! still tears will fill the eye,  
 Still recollection prompt the mournful sigh:  
 When to thy mind recurs thy former fame,  
 And all the horrors of thy present shame.  
 So some tall rock, whose bare broad bosom high,  
 Tow'rs from th' earth, and braves th' inclement sky;  
 On whose vast top the blackening deluge pours,  
 At whose wide base the thund'ring ocean roars;  
 In conscious pride its huge gigantic form  
 Surveys imperious, and defies she storm.  
 Till worn by age, and mould'ring to decay,  
 Th' insidious waters wash its base away;  
 It falls, and falling cleaves the trembling ground,  
 And spreads a tempest of destruction round.”

In No. VII. Mr. Canning opens “ a licensed warehouse for wit,” with a N. B. indicating that “ *attic salt*” may be had in any quantities, and “ most money given for old jokes.”

No. XI. and XII. are occupied with a *parody* on the laws of criticism, as adapted to epic poetry; the following ludicrous lines being chosen as the subject:

“ The

“ The Queen of Hearts,

She made some tarts,

All on a summer’s day :

The Knave of Hearts

He stole those tarts,

And—took them quite—away !”

Some have imagined that Addison’s exposition of the ballad of Chevy Chace, in the *Spectator*, has been alluded to on this occasion.

No. XXII. contains a happy vein of ridicule on the poets who attempt to assimilate the works of the Creator of the universe with those of the humble manufacturer ; and in their “ Odes to Spring,” &c. “ catch the fragrance of the *damask* rose ; listen to the rustling of the *silken* foliage ; or lie extended with a listless languor, pillowing the head upon the *velvet* mead.” He recommends them to proceed in their brilliant career, and introduce “ plains of *plush*, pastures of *poplin*, downs of *dumity*, vallies of *velvet*, and meadows of *Manchester*.” He at the same time compares the poetry of Pope to *flowered* satin. The compositions of all the Poets Laureat, ancient and modern, are denominated prince’s stuff ; the works of Homer are designated everlasting ; and those of Shakespeare are likened to “ *shot silks*, which vary the brightness of their hues into a multitude of different lights and shades.”

No. XXVI. is wholly occupied with novel-writing, styled by some the younger sister of Romance, but here proved to be exactly the same identical person ; the merciless giants of former times being  
now

now converted into austere guardians, while the dragons of old are modernized into maiden-aunts.

In No. XXX. we find a dissertation on performances of a very different kind, such as the entertaining histories of Mr. Thomas Thumb, Mr. John Hickathrift, and sundry other celebrated worthies, sold at Mr. Newberry's, in St Paul's Church-yard, and the bouncing B, Shoe-lane.

The Nos. XXXII. and XXXIX. inferior to the former in every respect, are on miscellaneous subjects; and it appears from the latter, that Mr. Canning was the editor.

Nor was this very industrious student, in the mean time, inattentive to Latin poetry; for in 1787 he wrote the verses commencing as follows:

“ Audin! tumultu quo strepuit potus?  
 Quo clangor armorum sonitu fremit?  
 Turmas rebelles in supremum  
 Bella parans Satanas Johovam.  
 Non auspicato jam ciet impetu;  
 Subdens amarus cui stimulos diu  
 Haud Numini celata summo  
 Ambitio rabiesque mentem  
 Vexarat. ‘ Armis nunc opus est,’ ait,” &c.

In 1780, he composed the lines inscribed “*Sermoni demus operam,*” of which we shall here also give a specimen:

“ SERMONI, heu! nostro, multumque loquantibus ultro  
 Hoc vitium est; dictis mordacibus, et sale nigro  
 Absentes cessant nunquam quòd ledere amicos,  
 Atque adeo alterius vitiis illudere læti  
 Ut sua respiciant nunquam mala; præterea quòd  
 De nugis agitur, quales contemnere mavult,

Quam

Quam scire, egregium quisquis sapientis habere  
 Nomen avert: 'Quænam audisti nova?' (Delia probris  
 Læta rogat, charta mendacior ipsa diurnâ;  
 Virginibus quædam ex illis quibus invida vultum  
 Annorum series turpavit, et atra senectus  
 Innuptis tandem obrepit; quibus una voluptas  
 Lædere, et insontes falsis maculare puellas  
 Criminibus) 'Quænam audisti? de Phyllide nunquid?'

"Cui (pariter quam durus Hymen vota usque ferentem  
 Luserat invidiæque etiam par Debora et annis)  
 'Num Phyllis peccavit?' ait: tum Delia palmas  
 Ad cælum tendens utrasque; 'O candida virtus,  
 'Quando iterum terras vises? O forma venusta!  
 'Vana boni species! nostras cælum accipe grates,  
 'Quòd non pulchra nimis, primo nec flore juventæ,  
 'Hic ego temporibus, nec tantum ætate laberem.

"Nec sum adeò informis tamen: at pulcherrima Phyllis  
 ' (Fama volat, soli sed non ego credula famæ)  
 ' Phyllis habet natos, casta illa, pudica, gemellos.'  
 ' Proh geminos! falsa ut veris quisque addit! ego autem  
 ' Credula dimidio tantum, quodcunque per urbem,  
 ' Fama serit: quin sunt fucata Amyrillidis ora,  
 ' Crede mihi, falsæque comæ: sed (proh dolor!) ipsa,  
 ' Horresco referens, modò quod narravit amica.  
 ' Parthenia infandum; maternos nocte penates  
 ' Flavia cum servo fugit.' 'Proh tempora! mores,  
 ' Heu! quàm mutati a nostris; jam nulla decori  
 ' Virginibus cura est, reverentia nulla parentum.'  
 "Talibus inter se gaudent," &c.

The Rev. Dr. Davis, head-master of Eton, who presided over that institution during the whole time young Canning studied there,\* was of course

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\* Jonathan Davies, D. D. succeeded John Foster, M. A. in July 1773, and remained until December 1791, when he was himself succeeded by George Heath, D. D.

proud of such a scholar; Mr. Canning in return dedicated "the Microcosm"\* to him, and, we have reason to believe, always spoke of him with great respect. The time now approached, however, when it became necessary to repair to the university, and the subject of this memoir accordingly went to Oxford, and fixed at Christchurch, not with a reputation to seek, but with a certain degree of celebrity already acquired. This was rather augmented than diminished during his residence in that celebrated college, by some admirable orations; and we have heard several of his Latin productions while there spoken of with great respect.

But as Mr. Canning was not possessed of an hereditary fortune, which would have enabled him, had he been so inclined, to indulge in academic repose, it now became necessary that he should mix with the world and fix upon a profession. That of the bar, as leading to the first honours of the state; has generally been the choice of ambitious young men, conscious of their own powers, and resolute in their intentions of displaying them to the best advantage. It was also that of the subject of this memoir, who, we believe, was entered a member either of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, the hall of which has

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\* The "Miniature," a periodical paper, in imitation of the Microcosm, and edited by "Solomon Gildrig, of the College of Eton," has lately made its appearance. It is said to be written by Mr. Galley Knight, a son of Dr. Rennel, Master of the Temple, a son of the Marquis of Wellesley, and a nephew of Mr. Canning.

of late years become crowded; or that of the Middle Temple, where his father had been before him, and which possesses the noblest refectory in the metropolis. He repaired thither sufficiently stored with the *ground-work* of learning, and all that appeared now to be wanting was a habit of speaking with facility in public, and a steady application to study.

The latter depended entirely on himself, but the former was not to be obtained without the concurrence of others. It was in the spacious hall of the Middle Temple that the late Lord Ashburton, whose arms emblazoned on glass are placed in one of the end windows, first acquired a facility in debate among his fellow-students; but the ancient practice that led to a periodical display of oratory had long since been abandoned. Mr. Burke early in life distinguished himself at the Robin Hood long before he received the applauses of a British senate; and in our own times Messrs. Dallas and Garrow had been crowned with laurel at Coachmakers' Hall and the Westminster Forum, before they presumed to open their mouths in the court of King's Bench.

But all these public institutions having disappeared by degrees, it became necessary to create a new one; and a few young men about this period accordingly met together in an apartment in the neighbourhood of Bond-street. In the *old* schools of eloquence the orators were few and the audience numerous; but all this was reversed upon the present occasion, the whole being composed of speakers, who, when not in the act of declamation, were accustomed to *listen*,  
although

although not perhaps without impatience to the dissertations of their friends.\*

Nor did Mr. Canning, while thus cultivating the graces of oratory, neglect to mingle with the world. He now frequented the company of many of the young men with whom he had studied at Eton and Oxford, some of whom, being the heirs of the most opulent, or at least the most powerful families in England, were already aspiring to the first employments and distinctions of the state. At the table of his uncle he had frequently seen the modern Congreve, and by him, we understand he was introduced to the modern Demosthenes. The politics of his father, of the relation to whom we have just alluded, who was one of the most strenuous friends of Mr. Wilkes, and his own early principles, or rather *sentiments*, so far as we can gather from his productions,

\* The author of this article cannot now enumerate all the members, although he was at one period acquainted with their names; but he recollects that Mr. Moore, brother to the General, and son of the late Dr. Moore, was one of the number. Mr. George Moore, by birth a Spaniard, yet descended from the celebrated Chancellor of the same name, and now in possession of a large landed estate in Ireland, was another. He evinced quick parts as well as a ready delivery, and on all occasions was the  *rival*  of Mr. Canning, whom he took every opportunity to reply to. A third, we believe, was Mr. P. Byrne, the son of an eminent merchant in Dublin, whose eloquence, generosity, and goodness of heart, have endeared him to all his friends, and who has only been prevented from becoming an accomplished pleader at the bar by the attainment of a fortune that renders a profession unnecessary. The name of Sir James Mackintosh gave some additional celebrity to the institution.

were all friendly to liberty, and that species of it usually denominated *popular liberty*. Indeed this is one of the first passions that pervades the bosoms of young men of ingenuous minds ; but it has been generally understood that it was under far different auspices that Mr. Canning made his *debut* in the House of Commons.

This occurred in 1793, when such were the hopes entertained of his talents that the late Sir Richard Worsley had been prevailed upon to retire for the express purpose of making room for him. He accordingly succeeded that Baronet as one of the members for the borough of Newton in the Isle of Wight.

It was now expected as a matter of course that he should take part in the debates of the house ; and as Mr. Sheridan, on the first speech of the Hon. J. B. Jenkinson, now Lord Hawkesbury, had announced, as already noticed, his precocious talents to the House, great things were expected. Mr. Canning, however, did not open his mouth until the 31st of January 1794, when the treaty between his Majesty and the King of Sardinia became the subject of discussion. Mr. Fox commenced the debate with condemning a measure by which the sovereign in question was bound only to maintain fifty thousand men for the defence of his own territories ; while we engaged not only to pay a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds a year, but to restore to his Sardinian Majesty all those dominions which the French had wrested from him. After Mr. Powis, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Grey, had expressed their sentiments in succession,

cession, Mr. Canning rose, and delivered a *maiden* speech, of which the following is the substance:

He began by observing, "That if the question were to be argued on the mere narrow ground of taking the treaty into consideration abstractedly, and discussing it upon its particular merits, he should certainly have left it in other and abler hands; but the treaty having a much more extensive reference, and being to be considered, not as a mere mercantile transaction, in which the exact proportion of profit and loss of what was to be given, and what gained, were to be minutely balanced; he trusted he should be excused for presuming to offer himself to the attention of the House.

"Looking at the treaty itself, there were but two possible objections which could be made to it; the one was, that under existing circumstances it ought not to be made at all, and therefore could not possibly be right; the other, that on comparing it with similar treaties that preceded it, it must be deemed bad, inasmuch as it proposed a greater price for similar advantages, or accepted of a less return for a similar reward. Upon the first of these grounds he had not heard any gentleman attempt to rely, and therefore it was wholly unnecessary for him to offer any argument in its support. With respect to the second objection, he had been at some pains in comparing the present with preceding treaties, and he was free to confess he was unable to discover those defects so strongly insisted on. He was ready to admit, that the treaty of Worms was not exactly similar in principle; but there was one treaty as yet untouched upon, which, he conceived, would in the most complete manner meet every principle upon which the present was founded. He alluded to the treaty of 1758, concluded between this country and the then King of Prussia; who, in the midst of a war in which he was involved, was actually subsidized by us to the amount of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds per annum, and the grounds upon which this subsidy was expressly stated to be granted were these three; that he was oppressed by enemies who had attacked him on all sides; that he was in appearance unable to resist them; and that his overthrow would be destructive to the balance of power in Europe.

"Here then was a precedent, establishing both the principle

and fact upon which the present treaty was founded; a precedent which, it must be remembered, was carried not only without opposition, but with triumph, through that house, and received the united suffrage of the whole nation. The question then was concerning the balance of power, and how far it was connected with the necessity of granting that subsidy. He would ask whether this question was more likely to avail in taking the money out of the pockets of our ignorant peasantry, than that which concerned their dearest interests, and on which depended their very existence? Could it have been stated to them, that the balance of power depended on their putting their hands in their pockets to assist a man comparatively as poor as themselves; or was it likely that they should understand the subject better than when told that in subsidizing the King of Sardinia they were contributing to their own immediate preservation? It having been admitted on all hands that the King of Sardinia was too poor, and too impotent, to carry on the war alone; the question was, whether we should support him, or whether inasmuch as it was supposed the Earl of Yarmouth had negotiated best because he had cost us nothing, so we were to suppose the King of Sardinia would fight the better because he was left unpaid? He did not mean any personal disrespect to the Right Honourable Gentleman to whom he had alluded; but, according to his argument, the King of Sardinia ought to subsidize us: that is, finding that power weaker, and less able to defend herself than the rest of our allies, we should have said to her: ‘You shall fight, and pay us for just doing nothing at all but looking on.’ This precedent tending then evidently to justify the present treaty, both in principle and fact, the only possible objections that could be stated against it, Mr. Canning said, must arise from the war itself. Upon this head, not having the honour of a seat in that house at the commencement of the war, he begged their indulgence while he stated the grounds upon which he wished to give a decided voice in favour of the principles and necessity upon which that war was grounded.

“Mr. Canning then proceeded to justify the vote he meant to give, by a recapitulation of arguments in support of the necessity of the war, as well as the evils it was expected to avert, and which if not resisted effectually, would make Great Britain a scene of the

same

same anarchy and irreligion, that at present rendered France a field of horror and bloodshed.

“ Among other striking points in this part of his speech, was his remark, that, had it not been for the war, some Corresponding Revolutionary Society might possibly have been sitting on the benches of that House; or instead of debating on a treaty of alliance, they might have been debating on the means of raising a forced loan, demanded by some proconsular deputy from the French Convention. He had lately come, he added, from among people, where he had seen the utmost unanimity for prosecuting the war; and when he came among their representatives, he was happy to find that their sentiments were, as they ought to be, in unison with those of their constituents. He concluded with declaring, that considering the treaty as an essential part of an extensive system for bringing the war to a fortunate conclusion, it should have his support.”

The member for Newport after this was accustomed to speak in most of the important debates; and as public affairs at this period had assumed a gloomy aspect, and ministers were supposed by their adversaries to have sometimes displayed more energy than argument, it cannot be doubted that his assistance proved in no common degree serviceable.

On the third reading of the bill for vesting new powers in government (May 17, 1794), Mr. Canning rose in reply to one of the leading members of opposition, and observed, “ that the honourable gentleman\* who had just sat down, appeared to him to have argued the question upon grounds not only too narrow in themselves, but also inconsistent with those principles which he himself appeared to have adopted at an earlier stage of the

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\* Mr. Grey.

business. He had formerly contended, that in cases of extraordinary emergency little attention ought to be paid to precedents ; but on the present evening he had argued the question on precedents merely, without any general reasoning whatever.

“ It was curious to observe how gentlemen shifted their ground, and passed over those precedents which made against their arguments. In that alluded to, of 1722, ministers had not the same support of which they could avail themselves on the present occasion, for then there was only a bare message from the crown ; but now the message was followed up by a secret committee, the report of which evinced the necessity of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.

“ There was a traiterous correspondence carrying on at that period, for the purpose of restoring the expelled family ; but in the present instance its object was to subvert the constitution, and introduce republican anarchy on its ruins.

“ Were we not, therefore, to imitate the caution of our ancestors, and to apply the same remedy to the one grievance which they had adopted in respect to the other ? Or, even if there were no precedent in favour of such a measure, were we not justified in devising new and extraordinary remedies for singular and unheard-off offences ? Good God ! how could gentlemen oppose a measure that was so obviously necessary ? Was the House to be told that these societies had no correspondence with foreign enemies, whose object was to subvert and overturn the constitution ?

“ What had been said of the precedent of 1777, so far from being in point, was diametrically opposite to the present subject, and was of singular importance. That differed from the present instance in this, that it had for its object the preventing a Congress in America ; whereas this plan was designed to hinder one from assembling in Great Britain ; and since the House had seventeen times declared their apprehensions of such an event, it was not requisite for him to add a single word upon the subject, especially after what had fallen from a respectable member  
(Mr. Baker),

(Mr. Baker), who had till this time given his support to the Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox.)

“ When precedents made for gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, they were enforced with the utmost energy, animation, and pertinacity; but when they made against them, they were scouted and reviled. Thus it was during the war; if our troops, or our allies, obtained a victory, it was immediately said, that this was no uncommon case, and was a thing that even the enemy expected, but if any failure happened, it was magnified immediately into a defeat, and the measures of government, and the conduct of our commanders, were implicated without the smallest delicacy or reserve. He was willing to grant them either argument; but he did not think it candid or fair, that, to serve their own purposes, they should prey upon both.

“ He would not argue as to the proof of the danger that induced his Majesty’s Ministers to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act; the report of the Secret Committee justified the measure, and he was willing, for his part, to take the word of government. It was observed by gentlemen, that if time were given, petitions would crowd from all parts of the country, and cover the table of the House; and it had been also remarked by a learned Serjeant, that such petitions would not flow from the people legally assembled, but from those very persons whose conduct authorised the present measure.

“ Mr. Canning then declared, that he was not to be intimidated by petitions from any quarter, as long as he was convinced that he acquitted himself justly as a representative of the people, for the benefit of his country. He felt himself, so far, in a high and exalted situation, paramount to any such consideration; and as long as he exercised the authority delegated to him consistent with the dictates of his conscience, he was not to be biassed by any instructions, let them flow from whatever quarter they might.

“ If ministers were to proceed in this business they were threatened with vengeance, and parliament was menaced with the diminution of its numbers; but he did not perceive the direful consequences that would result to the country if such threats were carried into execution. He was of opinion, that any such

secession would be counterbalanced by the good that must arise to the nation from carrying into effect the judicious measure submitted to the consideration of the House. With regard to the people he had a better opinion of their good sense, than those who supposed that they could not distinguish their friends; they had been put to the proof by the public subscriptions proposed by ministers; and however that measure was decried, it was found that their pulse beat in perfect unison with that of government. Mr. Canning concluded by observing, that however he and his friends might be threatened with secessions in the House, and disturbances abroad, yet they would never be brought to consider themselves as the ambassadors from foreign states; but should continue to know and feel their own dignity, and wait for the subsequent approbation of the people.

“ In ordinary times it was the duty of the House to see that every part of the constitution was kept in repair, but now it was their duty to protect the whole. He knew that the members of that house were considered as the best guardians and protectors of the people, with whom every pulse and artery moved in unison with those of Parliament.”

It may be here necessary to observe, that Mr. Canning had by this time obtained a respectable and confidential employment, as one of the joint-secretaries of state in the foreign department, over which Lord Grenville at that period presided. In this capacity, he was of course made acquainted with the *interior* of the cabinet, and initiated early in life into all the mysteries of public business.

On the dissolution of parliament he was returned for Wendover, and continued to support Mr. Pitt's administration until the retreat of that gentleman from power.

In common with him, he at the same time reprobated the French rulers as base, cruel, and tyrannical;

cal; and attacked the slave-trade of the English colonies as unjust, barbarous, and impolitic. They both have uniformly supported Mr. Wilberforce in his attempts to abolish this horrid species of commerce; and we shall perceive from the following speech, delivered by the subject of this memoir, March 1, 1797, that he exerted all his powers and argument to put a stop to it.

“ The debate of to-night, he said, had afforded more novelty than he ever before remembered to have heard introduced upon this subject: and the novelty of the topics stated by the different opponents of the abolition, had been still farther diversified by the variety of lights in which even the same topics had been placed by the different gentlemen who made use of them. Not only had a totally new set of assertions, a new train of reasoning, been adopted by the advocates of the slave-trade in general; but still further to perplex those who combated against them to extend still more widely their line of defence, they had so contrived it, that no two gentlemen had handled the same arms in the same manner, no two speeches, no two arguments, which the house had that night heard on that side of the question, but what had been for the most part inconsistent with each other.

“ Not that if this variety had been wanting to the debate, he should have felt any shame in going over again the path which had been so often trodden, and meeting again the miserable pleas so often urged in favour of this abominable trade, and so often refuted, with the same weapons, which had already been employed against them. The shame was not in the advancement of old arguments, but in the maintenance of inveterate abuses. It was not the pride of victory that was to be sought, it was not the dexterity of contest that was to be applauded, on such a question. And whatever triumph might arise from seeing that the old arguments for the abolition continued unanswered, was in his mind effectually damped by the regret that a mischief so inveterate and detestable remained unabated.

“ The

“ The House would recollect the situation in which the question of the abolition now stood, a situation in which it had been placed by the motion of an honourable friend of his (Mr. C. Ellis) two years ago, a motion which had proceeded (he was pleased to say) from the purest benevolence, and which had been brought forward in a manner, which (as the House would well recollect) had done equal honour to the abilities and to the feelings of his honourable friend. The professed purpose of this motion was, to arrive gradually at the same end, which other gentlemen, and he (Mr. Canning) among the number, were desirous of reaching immediately—the final and entire termination of the trade in slaves. The mode proposed by his honourable friend’s motion was, to address the King to recommend to the Colonial Assemblies to take such measures as, besides meliorating the condition of the negroes upon the islands, securing to them the immediate and active protection of the law when aggrieved by their masters, and other objects equally desirable, should ultimately lead to the final termination of the trade.

“ This then was the state of the question now before the House. The point for their consideration was, whether the Colonial Assemblies appeared, by the papers on the table, to have entered heartily and *bona fide* into measures, such as were recommended to them by his Majesty, in consequence of the address of the House of Commons in April 1797, and with the view and intent with which that address was framed, in respect to the termination of the trade. If they had done so—he did not say, God forbid that he should! that those gentlemen who had voted against that address conceiving the mode pointed out in it to be inefficient, and who voted the same year for the direct abolition, could be at all embarrassed as to the vote which they ought to give in favour of the abolition this year; but he did admit that in that case those who had voted for that address, and who had relied upon the efficacy of the measures which it went to recommend, would be fairly entitled to argue that their experiment having succeeded thus far should continue to be tried a little longer.

“ But what is the real state of this case? The Assembly of Jamaica—for he would confine his observations upon this subject

ject to Jamaica—both because the extent and population and importance of that island, and its immense proportion in the Slave Trade (near two-thirds, or perhaps three-fourths of the whole), gave it so large a share in this question, as to render all the other Colonies comparatively little worth considering; and because it was to it alone that the observations of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sewell), and his right honourable friend (Mr. Dundas) had been confined—What was the conduct, what was the language, of the Assembly of Jamaica? And what were the interpretations to which the honourable gentlemen (Mr. Sewell), and his right honourable friend, were obliged to have recourse to palliate and excuse it?

“The Assembly of Jamaica pass two acts—very good, for aught he knew, as matter of regulation—one for increasing the salaries of the clergy, the other for laying a duty *amounting to a prohibition*, (he begged the House to remark this, as he should have occasion to revert to it in another view presently,) on all negro slaves imported into the island above the age of twenty-five years. These two acts they transmit to the King, as what they have done to carry into effect His Majesty’s gracious recommendation. It was hardly necessary for them to add that they were not intended to terminate the Slave Trade, because they might have defied the ingenuity of man to discover what there was in them that could, by any possibility, tend to its termination. But the Assembly of Jamaica was too open and ingenuous to leave its meaning to be found out by implication or construction. They speak out manfully. They tell His Majesty plainly, that in what they have done

“They have been actuated by views of humanity only, and not *with any view to the termination of the Slave Trade*.

“Could any thing be more plain, simple, and intelligible? Was there a man in the House, was there a child that could just read, who until his right honourable friend (Mr. Dundas’s) ingenuity, and that of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sewell), had been exercised upon this passage, could have for a moment mistaken its meaning? Here then the question, in all fairness and justice, ought to end. All parties were agreed that the Slave Trade ought to be terminated. There are two ways of terminating it;

it; by this House, or by the colonial legislature. The colonial legislature tell you plainly they will not terminate it. What remains, but for this House to exercise its own power—always, in his mind, the best, but now clearly proved to be the *only* medium through which the termination of the trade could be effected.

“ But if there could be any additional light thrown upon the sense of a passage already as clear as noonday, what followed in the address was in itself the best commentary upon it. The two passages indeed mutually illustrated each other.

“ ‘ The right of obtaining labourers from Africa.’ The *Right!* He had learned, indeed, by painful experience of what had of late years passed in the world, to associate the word *right*, with ideas very different from those which, in old times, it was calculated to convey. He had learned to regard the mention of *rights* as prefatory to bloody, destructive, and desolating doctrines, hostile to the happiness and to the freedom of mankind. Such had been the lesson which he had been taught by the *rights of man*. But never, even in the practical application of that detested and pernicious doctrine, never, he believed, had the word *right* been so shamefully affixed to murder, to devastation, to the invasion of public independence, to the pollution and destruction of private happiness, to gross and unpalliated injustice, to the spreading of misery and mourning over the earth, to the massacre of innocent individuals, and to the extermination of unoffending nations; never before was the word *right* so prostituted and misapplied, as when the *right* to trade in man’s blood was asserted by the enlightened government of a civilized country. It was not wonderful that the slavery of Africa should be described in a term consecrated to French freedom.

“ But it was the *right to import labourers*—gentle words! Not *slaves*, not for the world, not ‘ to trade in slaves,’ but ‘ to import labourers.’

“ He now came to the arguments of some gentlemen who had been chiefly instrumental in introducing into the debate that degree of novelty and variety which, as he had set out with remarking, had eminently distinguished this debate from any other that he remembered on the same subject. Not contented with insisting, in the first place, that the declaration of the Assembly of Jamaica,

maica, that they had *no* view to the termination of the Slave Trade, was to be accepted as a proof that they had the termination of the Slave Trade constantly in their view and near their heart (a pretty bold and a very new construction): not contented with contending, that in limiting the age of imported negroes (granting for a moment that it was possible to enforce the limitation), and adding to the salaries of the clergy of the island, the Assembly of Jamaica (declaring itself at the same time the determined enemy of the abolition of the Slave Trade) had done all that human wit could devise, and all that human legislation could enact, towards the accomplishing the purposes of the friends of the abolition; the gentlemen who had contended against the motion, had added to these ingenious arguments another and a broader, and still bolder one, which, if it be true, leaves very little room to question, and very little reason to care, whether either of the other statements be true or false; namely, that *for the sake of Africa* the Slave Trade ought to be continued. And to illustrate and adorn this topic, the honourable gentlemen had availed themselves of all those common-places of humanity, and philanthropy, all those appeals to the feelings of the House, which have been usually supposed to belong to those who contend on the other side of the question, and upon which they (the friends of the abolition) had by these pathetic reasoners themselves, in this very debate, been accused of relying exclusively. He appealed to the House, whether he had not been right in ascribing the character of novelty to a debate, in which all the topics of fine feelings were found forcibly enlisted on the side of the Slave Trade.

“ One honourable gentleman (Mr. Petrie), a person of great respectability, and connected with persons of great property in the West Indies, had informed the House, that, as a planter, he was most anxious for the abolition of the trade, but *as a monopolist*, as a friend of human nature and of the world at large, he must oppose it. ‘ If you would confer a boon on the West Indies,’ said the honourable gentleman, ‘ abolish the trade: but the West Indians are not so selfish as to desire even so beneficial a boon at the expence of their fellow-creatures in Africa; and the heart shudders to conceive what must be the state of Africa without the Slave Trade.’ Really, if any stranger had come into the House during that part

of the debate, he must have conceived that the West Indians had been petitioning to be relieved from the burden of importing annually vast numbers of dangerous, rebellious, unprincipled barbarians; and that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Petrie), as agent for Africa, was stating to the House, in terms of the utmost pathos, the cruelty of depriving that country of so advantageous an export for its superfluous population. The British Parliament must not be so hard-hearted. It must continue the traffic in human beings, the commerce of flesh and blood, out of mere humanity. It was not, indeed, the first time that the inhabitants of Africa had been the victims of humanity. The first importation of them into the West Indies was traced to a good Spanish Bishop, who obtained the title of Friend of the Indians, by proposing to import negroes to relieve the native inhabitants of America from the toil with which their new inmates overwhelmed them. But the honourable gentleman went beyond the Spanish Bishop in humanity. The Bishop began the Slave Trade for the advantage of the native inhabitants of the West Indies. The honourable gentleman would continue it, for the benefit of Africa, even though the present inhabitants of the West Indies were, as he said, averse to its continuance.

“Next to the honourable gentleman in kind consideration for the unhappy natives of Africa, came an honourable Baronet (an honourable friend of his, if he would allow him to call him so, Sir W. Young), and an honourable gentleman on the other side of the House (Mr. Dent), whom he classed together, because their two arguments, though in some degree contradictory to each other, made (when taken together) a complete defence of the Slave Trade system in all its parts. The honourable Baronet took upon himself the defence of the system of treatment in the islands; the honourable gentleman, as connected with a slave-trading town, had to prove the propriety of the exportation from Africa. And this was the way in which they went about it. ‘Slavery,’ according to the honourable Baronet, ‘was taken in a vulgar sense by those who talked in so lamentable a strain on the subject—the nature of slavery was not correctly understood—there was nothing in reality so afflicting or depressing in it. A state of slavery had produced great men among the ancients. If gentlemen would look into their Macrobius, they  
would

would find that half the ancient philosophers had been slaves.' Such was the honourable Baronet's statement. Mr. Canning professed he was not so much surprised at it, as some gentlemen appeared to be. When he had seen the word 'right' applied in the Jamaica address in describing a system of oppression, cruelty, and rapine; he had guessed that its companion 'philosophy' would not be far away. Right and philosophy were the two surnames of tyranny and injustice in the vocabulary of French freedom; and the transition from that system of freedom to the system of absolute and abject slavery, was no violent or unnatural transition.

"But while the honourable Baronet was crying up the philosophy of slavery on the one hand, how did it happen that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Dent) could reconcile his feelings to such a mode of reasoning? The honourable gentleman had found great fault with his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce), for having mentioned in his opening speech that there were parts to be found in the interior of Africa, where civilization had made such a progress, that books were not uncommon among the inhabitants. 'Books,' exclaimed the honourable gentleman, 'books! the blackamoors have books! and this the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) gives as a reason for not exporting them as slaves! I think (said he) if the honourable gentleman had recollected all the mischief that books have done, especially of late years, in the world, he might have spared this argument at least. What produced the French Revolution? Books. 'The House would not be induced to put a stop to the Slave Trade in order that the inhabitants of Africa might stay at home to be corrupted by reading books.' Now (Mr. Canning said) he must complain of a little unfairness in the arguments of the honourable Baronet and the honourable gentleman, thus contrasted with each other. 'Export the natives of Africa,' said the honourable gentleman, 'lest they become literari at home.' 'Bring them away,' said the honourable Baronet, 'that they may become philosophers in the West Indies.'

"But then came the general argument; that it is the interest of the proprietor that his slaves should be well treated, that they should not be overworked, that they should produce a natural population;

population; and that any reasonable man would see a sufficient security in these circumstances against cruelty and oppression in the islands. In the first place, this argument proved too much. For as the interest of the planter in the preservation and propagation of his slaves had at all times been the same, it would go to establish that the slaves had at all times been treated as well as possible, with a view to their preservation, to the propagation of their race, and to the consequent discontinuance of importation; suppositions which manifestly were not well founded: else where would have been the necessity, and what would be the benefit of the laws now upon the table of the House, upon the benevolent intention and efficacy of which so much stress was laid? But, in the second place, the argument is perfectly fallacious.

“ It was particularly unpleasant to go at large into this part of the subject, both because it was in its nature liable to be construed as invidious, and because it was not the part of the subject to which the motion of his honourable friend applied; but when points were stated so boldly, as containing incontrovertible truths, as setting all doubt at rest, and making all remedy useless and absurd, it was a little necessary to examine into them. He was not here contesting the *fact*, that slaves upon our islands were well treated. He was combating the assertion, that from the interest of the proprietors they *must* of necessity be so. First, then, that man's strongest permanent interests were liable to be overborne by his passions, need hardly be argued at length. Let gentlemen look at the laws upon the table, and see what sort of evils they are intended to remedy. Next, the interest of the proprietor resident in the island, unencumbered with debt, and looking to his estate as a permanent and improving provision for his family, is one thing: but that of the absentee proprietor who wishes to lay the foundation of a fortune elsewhere, that of the embarrassed proprietor, who wishes to discharge incumbrances; and lastly, that of the overseer, who is anxious to realize a sum of money as quickly as possible to purchase an estate for himself; all these might in the nature of things be interests of a very different kind indeed, from that steady and permanent interest, which contenting itself with moderate returns, would insure mild and considerate treatment

treatment to the labourers, whose work was to produce them. All these might require increased labour, and rapid produce; all these might, in the nature of things, be less solicitous about the eventual exhaustion of the soil, or of the workers of the soil, than about the extent of present profit. And when the proportion of these classes to that of the resident and unembarrassed proprietors were considered, what became of the general statement that the interest of the owner *must* in all cases secure the good treatment of the slaves? That the slaves were in general well-treated he was far from being disposed to deny: he hoped and believed they were so. But that they *must* be so, from any necessitating and unalterable cause, he could not agree.

“ There remained only one argument, drawn from the circumstances of the awful times in which we live—an argument of great weight and wisdom in general, but not bearing (as he thought) very happily upon the question in debate.

“ But what were the principles upon which we allowed a certain claim to our respect, to belong to any institution which had subsisted from remote time? What was the reason, why when any such institutions had by the change of circumstances or of manners, become useless, we still tolerated them, nay, cherished them with something of affectionate regard; and even when they became burthensome, did not remove them without regret? What but because in such institutions, for the most part, we saw the shadow of departed worth or usefulness, the monument and memorial of what had, in its origin, or during its vigour, been of service or of credit to mankind? Was this the case with the slave-trade? Was the slave-trade originally begun upon some principle of public justice, or national honour, which the lapse of time, which the mutations of the world, have alone impaired and done away? Has it to plead former merits, services, and glories, in behalf of its present foulness and disgrace? Was its infancy lovely, or its manhood useful, though in its age it is become thus loathsome and perverse? No. Its infant lips were stained with blood. Its whole existence had been a series of rapacity, cruelty, and murder. It rested with the house to decide, whether it will allow to such a life the honours of old age, or endeavour to extend its duration.

“ What were the grounds on which the plea of prescription usually rested ? And in what cases was it where any existing order of things, though violent and unjust in its original institution, had by lapse of time been someliorated and softened down, and reconciled to the feelings of mankind, had so accommodated itself to the manners and prejudices, and interwoven itself with the habits of a country, that the remembrance of its original usurpation was lost in the experience of present harmlessness or utility ? Conquest was often of this nature : violent and unjustifiable in its first introduction, it did often happen, that the conquerors and the conquered became blended into one people, and that a system of common interest arose out of the conciliated differences of parties originally hostile. But was this the case with the slave-trade ? Was it in its outset only that it had any thing of violence, of injustice, or of oppression ? Were the wounds which Africa felt in the first conflict healed and skinned over ? Or were they fresh and green as at the moment when the first slave-ship began its ravages upon the coast ? Were the oppressors and oppressed so reconciled to each other that no trace of enmity remained ? Or was it in reason, or in common sense, to claim a prescriptive right, not to the fruits of an ancient and forgotten crime, committed long ago, and traceable only in its consequences, but to a series of new violences, to a chain of fresh enormities, to cruelties not continued but repeated, and of which every individual instance inflicted a fresh calamity, and constituted a fresh, a separate, and substantive, crime ?

“ He could not conceive that, in refusing to sanction the continuance of such a system, the House would feel itself as in the smallest degree impairing the respect due to the establishments of antiquity, or shaking the foundations of the British constitution.”

Mr. Pitt, as usual, seconded the endeavours of the *abolitionists* by means of a long and able speech ; but what is very remarkable, although, until of late, he has been accustomed to carry every question in which he interested himself, by means of a triumphant majority, yet, in respect to this, he has been uniformly in a minority !

Mr.

Mr. Canning by this time had acquired considerable weight in parliament ; as he was obviously in the confidence of Ministers, every opportunity was laid hold of to attack his opinions and conduct ; and, among other things, he, as well as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were both accused of making use of *exasperating* language in respect to Bonaparte, who was then only First Consul. In reply to a leading member of the Opposition, who had insisted on the impolicy of such a measure, he expressed himself as follows, in the debate of July 18, 1800 !

“ For my own part,” said the member for Wendover, “ having taken some share on former occasions in that which is called *abuse* of Bonaparte, I am not sorry to have an opportunity of saying a very few words upon this subject, especially as I understand that much has lately been said in this place of the unmanliness of the attacks which were made on the character of the First Consul, and the anxiety which it is apprehended some persons must feel to retract and disavow all that they then so rashly and illiberally uttered. Now, Sir, as I feel no sort of shame, and entertain not the smallest disposition to retract any thing that was then said, I wish to explain the principles upon which I spoke, and upon which I now maintain whatever I did then say. My principle, Sir, is simply this : there is but one thing, which I never wish to forbear speaking when called upon, and which, having spoken, I can at no time feel ashamed of, nor consent to disavow, retract, or qualify ; and that is the truth. If what was said of Bonaparte was untrue, that is an accusation of which I know the meaning, and which, if need be, I am prepared to argue. But if it was true, I confess I am at a loss to conceive where the shame lies, or where the necessity for contradicting it. If indeed the nature and essence of truth were capable of being altered by subsequent events, there might be some call for caution in uttering it, and there might be some room for qualification afterwards. But if this be not the case, I really do not comprehend what is meant by desiring us, who said what we thought of Bonaparte’s past actions at the time when we were

called upon to examine them, and who still think precisely what we said of them, to take any shame to ourselves for our language. I at least still think as I then thought; and I do not see what ground the events of the last campaign can furnish for changing my opinion. If, for instance, in Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt (for that was one of the points more particularly brought forward in these discussions), there was treachery and fraud; if, in his conduct toward its inhabitants, there was unprovoked cruelty; if, in his assumption of the turban, there was impious hypocrisy; I called these qualities by their name: I call them so still; and I say that this hypocrisy, this cruelty, and this fraud, have left indelible stains upon his character, which all the laurels of Marengo cannot cover, nor all its blood wash away. I know, Sir, there is a cautious, cowardly, bastard morality, which assumes the garb and tone of wisdom, and which prescribes to you to live with an enemy as if he were one day to become your friend. I distrust this doctrine for one reason, because I fear the same mind which could pride itself on adopting it, would be capable of entertaining the doctrine which is the converse of it, and would prescribe living with a friend as if he were one day to become an enemy. If this be wisdom, I do not boast it; I can only say, Heaven grant me a host of such enemies, rather than one such friend!

“ So much, Sir, as to the moral question upon this point. But then as to the practical result, what is it that gentlemen are afraid of? Do they seriously apprehend, that with such declared opinions of Bonaparte's personal character, Ministers can never treat with him? Nothing surely can be more visionary than such an apprehension. If the nation with whom we are at war, thinking (I suppose) for reasons of its own, more favourably of his character, or for whatever other reason, choose to make this man the depository of the power of the State, and the organ of its intercourse with foreign powers, Ministers may lament—they may be surprised at such a choice; but where did gentlemen learn, that between these Ministers, and a Government whose character and principles they disapproved, there could be no treaty? Not from the experience of the present war; for in the time of the good old Directory, what floods of abuse were poured upon our Ministers from the reading desks of the Assemblies?

Assemblies? and yet I never heard this urged as an impediment to treaty, either on the part of France or of this country. Not from the history of former wars; for in the wars against Louis XIV. the addresses carried up from this and the other House of Parliament, nay, the sacred lips which spoke from the throne of this kingdom, breathed stronger invectives against that Monarch than are to be found in any of the state papers so much complained of for the harshness of their language towards Bonaparte; and yet I never heard that these just invectives were considered as throwing any obstacle in the way of negotiation; or that, when the time of negotiation came, the conclusion of peace was in fact retarded by them. But perhaps there may be some distinction to be taken; perhaps the dignity of a lawful sovereign will bear without wincing rougher language than that with which it is decent or delicate to tickle the ears of an usurper.

“ But neither, Sir, was the attack upon the character of Bonaparte a wanton and unprovoked attack, as the honourable gentleman would represent it. When Bonaparte challenged us to acknowledge and act upon the stability of his Government before it was three days old, we doubted, as well we might, the stability of such a Government, and thought all probabilities against it. To clear up our doubts, he referred us to his personal character, as the pledge both of the permanency of his power, and for the use which he would make of it. What were we to do? to acquiesce, without examination, in what we heartily and in our consciences disbelieved? or to examine the value of the pledge which was offered us, and to give our reasons for not being willing to accept it? We preferred the latter alternative, as in fairness and in common sense we were compelled to do. What ground then had we to estimate Bonaparte’s personal character, but his past actions? These, therefore, we were obliged to scrutinize; in scrutinizing them we were struck with their deformity; and that deformity we were obliged to expose to the world as a justification of our own conduct.

“ If the event has contradicted the expectations which it was natural to form under the circumstances of the times; if the extraordinary, and certainly unlocked-for successes of the campaign have given stability to Bonaparte’s power (for the present,

at least—whatever may and must in all human probability, be the ultimate fate of a power so acquired, and resting on such foundations); if the battle of Marengo, though it did not overthrow Austria, has subjugated France; undoubtedly this change of circumstances may authorize and warrant a change of policy; and supposing the time to arrive when negotiation may be in other respects proper, undoubtedly (speaking my own individual opinion) I should say that the question of Bonaparte's power would not now stand, as it before did most necessarily stand, in the way of negotiation."

Notwithstanding this, it appears to have been afterwards *felt* that a treaty could not be entered into between the Ministry of that day and the French government: for Mr. Pitt at length resigned; and although the ostensible reasons made use of upon that occasion bore a different complexion, yet as they were never acted upon, and the same men afterwards returned to power, subject to the same pedicament, it is not altogether unfair to suppose, that the individual hostility adopted by Ministers, proved but little serviceable either to themselves or the nation.

Mr. Canning immediately retired with his friends on the dissolution of the administration, in which he had borne a part; and although he did not *approve* of the treaty of Amiens, yet we find that he declined either voting or speaking on that subject.

"Circumstances which I do not think it necessary to trouble the House with explaining," said he, soon after that event, "have prevented me from taking any part in the discussions which have lately occupied Parliament. But although by these circumstances, and by the feelings arising out of them, I have found myself precluded from expressing, even by my vote, the opinion which I certainly have formed upon the general subject of the peace which his Majesty has been advised to conclude;  
yet

yet that treaty being once concluded, and having received the sanction of Parliament, whatever may be my *private opinion of the peace*, there is but one duty for every member of this House, and for every good subject of this kingdom; to endeavour, as far as possible, to make the best of the new situation in which the country is placed by it, and to turn to the best account the advantages which are left to us."

On the 27th of May, 1802, in consequence of a previous motion relative to the newly ceded island of Trinidad, he delivered his opinions in a speech of considerable length.

" I will not deny or disguise," said he, " that my attention was first and most forcibly drawn to the cultivation of this colony, by its connection with the African slave-trade; the enormous increase of which, if the whole island should be brought into cultivation by imported negroes, must be such as to appal any man who looks at it, and such as must shock this House, when it considers its own recorded opinions upon that subject. But although this was the first point of view in which I considered Trinidad, I should do great injustice to the cause which I have undertaken, if I were not to aver, that in examining into the subject with this view, I have found reason to be convinced full as strongly that the cultivation of this settlement in the manner to which I have referred, is not more directly forbidden by the fear of that danger and that shame which would attend the enormous extension of the slave-trade—or rather the creation of a new slave-trade for this express purpose—than it is by every consideration of the security of the colonies, and of the true policy of this country, under the present circumstances of the world."

He then proceeded to state, that the whole amount of the land in cultivation was about 34,000 acres; that the estates granted by the Spanish government were in number 400, and that there remained to be granted 2,720 allotments of land of 320 acres each, amounting in all to 876,400 acres,

of which near one-half, or 420,000 acres, were stated to be fit for the cultivation of sugar. From the papers on the table, there appeared to be 10,000 negroes in the island, and 250,000 more would be required to cultivate the unappropriated lands.

“ Add to this computation,” continues he, “ the immensely increased mortality, from pushing the cultivation of Trinidad with the rapidity with which it would be pushed by purchasers anxious to turn their capital as quickly as possible; add the waste of lives in clearing new lands (the most unwholesome and destructive part of the agriculture of the West Indies), and from employing newly imported and unseasoned negroes (another infallible cause of aggravated mortality); and if with these additions he were to assume one million of negroes as the lowest amount that would be imported from Africa, before Trinidad was as effectually cleared and cultivated as Jamaica, he was persuaded that he could not be accused of exaggerating the calculation. One million of human beings to be swept from the face of the earth! and for what purpose? to gratify what interest? to comply with what necessity? There was no pretence of necessity; and the interest which had in all former instances been associated with the continuance and extension of the slave-trade (those of the established West India planters), in this instance was entirely the other way.”

He then supported his arguments by the resolution of the House of Commons of the 2d of April, 1792, declaring “ that the slave-trade ought to be gradually abolished;” and also by the address of the House of the 6th of April, 1797, praying “ that his Majesty do direct such measures to be taken as should gradually diminish the necessity, and ultimately lead to the termination of the slave-trade.” After this, he concluded a speech fraught with humanity, by moving an address to the crown, against  
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any grants or sales of new lands in the island of Trinidad, until regulations relative to the slave-trade should be adopted by Parliament.\*

Although the member for Tralee, for which borough he had been just returned to the new Parliament, had hitherto abstained from any direct hostility against Mr. Addington's administration, yet, on the prospect of a new war, he appears to have delivered his sentiments with less reserve. On the motion for an address to the throne, Nov. 23, 1802, he expressed "serious objections to some of the expressions contained in it, as it called on the House to extend to Ministers too much implicit confidence; and presumed, from the disposition they had already manifested to preserve peace, in favour of their exertions to promote the continuance of so desirable an object.

"It seemed to be taken for granted," added he, "that all had been done that could be done on that occasion; but some explanation was necessary before this could be fully admitted. All had not been done to preserve peace, if nothing had been done with firmness, while every thing was marked by the spirit of conciliation. All had not been done, if remonstrance was not accompanied by dignified threats of following it up with a corresponding conduct. All had not been done, if demands were made only to be rejected; if concessions were required which were haughtily refused; if a show of manliness was assumed from which there was no dignified retreat, after the mortification of disappointment.

"He was afraid that conduct of this kind had not been alto-

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\* The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) having given some satisfactory explanations on this subject, the motion was withdrawn.

gether wanting on the part of ministers. It was a matter of public notoriety, on the subject of the execrable treatment of the French government to Switzerland, that a remonstrance had been presented in a manner totally inconsistent with policy or expediency, for it arrived at a time when it was fruitless; when the people were subjugated, and their hopes blasted for ever. But supposing that it had not been presented too late, had Ministers made any arrangements on the Continent to give it effect? Were any allies ready to second our efforts? Was the co-operation of the court of Vienna secured? or was an Austrian army ready to march to the frontiers of Switzerland?

“ It was unnecessary for him to point out to the House, that it was a work of considerable labour to recruit a disbanded army, and refit a dismantled fleet; but whatever the difficulty was, it was wholly to be ascribed to want of promptness, decision, and energy, in watching over the ambitious designs of the enemy.

“ The great energy, and hostile views of the French government to this country, were not, however, on the other hand, to be denied. The destruction of our independence and our glory was the object never lost sight of for a moment. There existed an invincible spirit of rancour, which only waited for a favourable opportunity to display itself in action; the sentiment of hatred was cherished, the day of vengeance was only postponed. If the person who is at the head of the French government,” adds he, “ persists in measures calculated to excite apprehension, we are called upon to meet every exigency, by looking at his objects as he looks at them himself. He certainly possesses a great grasp of mind; and it becomes of course the duty of his Majesty’s Ministers to be proportionably watchful and vigilant. We must be prepared and ready to oppose vicissitudes, which cannot altogether be unexpected from such a quarter. It is not, Sir, because I wish to meet any particular exigency, that I vote for the address; it is not because I perceive dangerous results from Switzerland and Malta; but because I cannot help seeing them throughout Europe; because I am convinced there exists in the ruler of France a rooted and inveterate hatred to the English government, and because there are undoubted proofs of a constant activity employed and directed against us and our interests.”

Soon

Soon after this,\* Mr. Canning expressed himself in a still more decisive manner.

“ If I am pushed to the wall, and forced to speak my opinion, I have no disguise, no reservation. I do think this is the time when the administration of the government ought to be in the ablest and fittest hands. I do not think that the hands in which it is now placed answer to that description. I do not pretend to conceal in what quarter I think that fitness most eminently resides. I do not subscribe to the doctrines which have been advanced, that in times like the present, the fitness of individuals for their political situation is no part of the consideration to which a member of parliament may fairly turn his attention. Away with the cant of ‘ measures not men!’ the idle supposition that it is the harness and not the horses that draw the chariot along. No, Sir, if the comparison must be made, if the distinction must be taken, *men* are every thing, measures comparatively nothing. I speak of times of difficulty and danger; of times when systems are shaken, when precedents and general rules of conduct fail. Then it is, that not to this or that measure, however prudently devised, however blameless in execution, but to the energy and character of individuals, a state must be indebted for its salvation. Then it is that kingdoms rise or fall in proportion as they are upheld, not by well-meant endeavours (laudable though they may be,) but by commanding, over-awing talents; by able men.”

A few months after this (March 9, 1803), on the delivery of a message respecting an armament, the member for Tralee accused the cabinet “ of mystery and concealment;” and on Colonel Patten’s motion for censuring ministers (June 3), he expressed himself to be in a painful predicament, in consequence of differing from his noble friend, Lord Hawkesbury, on one hand, who defended himself and colleagues,

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\* Debate on Army Estimates, December 3, 1802.

and his right honourable friend Mr. Pitt, on the other, who wished to temporise.

“I entertain,” said he, “a deep and full conviction of the truth of all and every one of the charges which these\* resolutions contain; and unrestrained by the delicacy of reasoning, which naturally and laudably operates on the minds of some persons, I have no hesitation in avowing that I think the continuance of a blundering and incapable administration, at a crisis like the present, a greater and more certain mischief to the country than any that can arise from a public declaration by parliament of its opinion of their incapacity and misconduct. I, therefore, am prepared for a decisive vote upon this question.

“I have not disguised my opinion, I have expressed my strong and growing suspicions of the misconduct of administration on many occasions which have arisen in the course of the business of parliament, during the present session. What was then only suspicion, is now, to my conviction, proved.”

Mr. Canning after this took a rapid survey of the several resolutions, and concluded by animadverting on what had fallen from a baronet near him, ‘that those only wished to displace the present ministers, who look for power, or emoluments, or honours, from their removal,’ “One general remark I must

\* 1st, That the conduct of the French Republic, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, has been such as to be considered by his Majesty’s Ministers incompatible with good faith, moderation, and justice.

2d, That ministers have concealed the real sense which they entertained of the system of conduct pursued by France, &c.

3d, That it was the duty of ministers to have embraced some more early opportunity of obtaining reparation, &c. &c.

Mr. Pitt having moved the order of the day, the ayes were 56, noes 333. The original question was then put and lost by a majority of 241.

make,”

make," says he, "in answer to these imputations; that I believe those only to be capable of seriously imputing such motives of conduct to others, who are conscious of being actuated by similar motives themselves."

In the course of a few weeks after this, a change of administration took place, and Mr. Addington having resigned his seat on the Treasury Bench, was succeeded by Mr. Pitt. On this occasion, several members of the former cabinet deemed it prudent to retain their situations, notwithstanding which, he expressed a wish that the new ministry had been formed on a broad basis, but an opening was made for Mr. Canning, by the retreat of Mr. Tierney, in consequence of which he succeeded to that gentleman's office as Treasurer of the Navy, with the usual salary of four thousand pounds per annum, and was at the same time admitted to a seat at the council-board.

In respect to the pecuniary arrangements in this important department, he has steered clear of the reproaches incurred by one of his predecessors; and his conduct in respect to Mr. Trotter, whom he retained after the report against him was delivered in, is, perhaps, strictly defensible on the principle that mere accusation does not constitute guilt.

In regard to his zeal in behalf of Lord Melville, that may no doubt be qualified also on the score of ancient friendship, &c. As he objected from the beginning to the Navy Abuse Bill, he no doubt was justified in viewing that measure with a jealous eye; but some of his best friends must lament that he,  
whose

whose hands were allowed to be clean, should have evinced any indisposition in respect to official inquiry, or answered a requisition on the part of the commissioners with a legal opinion signed by the Attorney and Solicitor General.

On the whole, it must be allowed that Mr. Canning possesses very respectable talents for debate, which would be exhibited to better advantage, did he himself appear more independent.\* But he openly maintains a principle equally indefensible in logic, as in politics, "that it is better to err with Cato, than do right with the rest of mankind," &c.† He is of course warm in his friendship, zealous in his

\* This circumstance has perhaps given rise to an idea similar to what was conceived relative to a great man of antiquity :

"Major privato visus dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset."

TACIT.

† The following Song, composed by him for the anniversary of Mr. Pitt's birth-day, May 29, 1802, has obtained considerable popularity ; and it ought not to be forgotten that it was written at a period when the present Chancellor of the Exchequer was not only out of place, but almost out of remembrance :

#### I.

"If hush'd the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,  
The sky if no longer dark tempests deform ;  
When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep ?  
No—Here's to the Pilot that weather'd the Storm !

#### II.

"At the footstool of power let Flattery fawn ;  
Let Faction her idols extol to the skies ;  
To Virtue, in humble retirement withdrawn,  
Unblam'd may the accents of gratitude rise,

pursuits, dexterous in argument, and decorous in his animadversions. In his political conflicts he has of late prudently avoided every thing that looks like personal hostility ; and in his arguments relative to

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## III.

“ And shall not HIS mem’ry to Britain be dear,  
 Whose example with envy all nations behold,  
 A statesman unbiass’d by int’rest or fear,  
 By pow’r uncorrupted, untainted by gold ?

## IV.

“ Who when terror and doubt through the universe reign’d,  
 While rapine and treason their standards unfurl’d,  
 The heart and the hopes of his country maintain’d,  
 And one kingdom preserv’d ’midst the wreck of the world.

## V.

“ Unheeding, unthankful, we bask in the blaze,  
 While the beams of the sun in full majesty shine ;  
 When he sinks into twilight, with fondness we gaze,  
 And mark the mild lustre that gilds his decline.

## VI.

“ So, PITT, when the course of thy greatness is o’er,  
 Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly recall !  
 Now justly we prize thee, when lost we deplore,  
 Admir’d in thy zenith, but lov’d in thy fall !

## VII.

“ O take then, for dangers by wisdom repell’d,  
 For evils by courage and constancy brav’d ;  
 O take for a throne by thy counsels upheld,  
 The thanks of a people thy firmness has sav’d !

## VIII.

“ And oh, if again the rude whirlwind should rise,  
 The dawning of peace should fresh darkness deform ;  
 The regrets of the good, and the fears of the wise,  
 Shall turn to the Pilot that weather’d the Storm !”

the

the slave-trade, while he loudly condemns that inhuman traffic, he has always appeared half afraid lest his wit should inflict the same stings on his opponents, that they so unrelentingly bestow on the backs of their unhappy negroes.

Mr. Canning has been married for some years to a daughter of the late General Scott, by whom he obtained a considerable fortune. Of the other two, one is Marchioness of Titchfield; the other died in 1798, Viscountess Downe. His mother, now Mrs. Reddish, is still alive, as are also two sisters.

The sudden rise of this gentleman has produced a host of enemies; and during the fervour of political animosities it has been asserted that these ladies are in the receipt of pensions from the state. But will this be considered as a reproach either to them or him, when it is recollected that the widows and daughters of nearly one-third of our ancient nobility would deem themselves very fortunate to be in precisely the same predicament? A periodical writer too, gifted by nature with considerable talents, which have neither been improved nor polished by education, has presumed to attack him on grounds still less tenable; for Mr. Canning appears to have been as well born as many of his rivals, and perhaps better educated. Besides, it is equally illiberal and ridiculous in a free country, and an enlightened age, to upbraid a man bred at one of our first public schools, with the heirs of patrician families, afterwards conferring honour on one of our most distinguished universities,

universities, and eclipsing most if not all the younger branches of our nobility in the same chamber of parliament, with either the epithet or character of an "Upstart."



## THE YOUNG ROSCIUS.

THE history of the stage, like that of society itself, may be traced to a rude period, and an humble origin. In ancient Greece we find mankind passing through all the intermediate degrees of civilization, from dens and huts, to palaces and regular cities; while the successors of Thespis, who originally exhibited in a cart, found themselves, some ages after, in possession of a noble theatre at Athens, built of the most costly materials, and constructed with all the exquisite taste of which an elegant and enlightened age was capable.\*

The scenic art is admirably calculated to present an imitation of the realities, or at least the probabilities of private life; and the stage itself is therefore allowed to be the world in miniature. By its admirers it has always been considered capable of the most exalted objects, and is not unfrequently denominated, even at this day, a school of virtue. It would be difficult, however, to point out, at least in

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\* The Romans seem to have been slow in their improvements, as Pompey the Great appears to have been the first who built a theatre of stone.

the annals of Europe, any advantageous change effected by it, in respect to the duties which men either owe to each other, or to the state; and it must be frankly owned, that the theatres of modern days have contributed more to the taste than to the morals of the age. This, however, perhaps is more the fault of the audience than the actors, and springs rather from the perversion of, than the institution itself. Certain it is, that the declamation of the theatre affords the means of working up the passions of the multitude, and conveying the most noble and the most heroic sentiments. It is capable of inspiring patriotism, of inculcating bravery, of effacing even the fear of death. On grand and critical occasions, it might accordingly become a powerful engine for the salvation of a country, by electrifying every generous bosom with an ardent love of freedom, and a noble contempt of danger.

It is not a little surprising, however, that in general the professors of this interesting art have been treated with a degree of indifference bordering on contempt. Notwithstanding the French are allowed to have excelled in it, yet their actors received but little respect during their lives, and were denied the rites of sepulture after their deaths. With us, indeed, their *remains* were not insulted; but until of late their lives were embittered by poverty, and their liberty menaced by the laws.\*

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\* Our satyrist, Churchill, depicts them in his time, sometimes,  
 —“Of the beadle’s lash afraid,”

We are to seek for the solution of this enigma, not in the baseness of the profession, but in the poverty and inferiority of the professors. From the time of Elizabeth until nearly our own days, we can scarcely name three opulent, or perhaps respectable performers; but a new class of men at length arose, and a Betterton, a Booth, and a Garrick, seemed destined to rescue the name of a Player from obloquy and reproach.

In the present times we have been astonished with a *phenomenon*; for we have beheld a boy at the age of twelve, issuing like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, at once prepared and armed for the combat. This is assuredly unexampled in the annals of the stage; for notwithstanding the zeal and enthusiasm of our greatest performers,\* they had all attained the period of manhood before they presumed to make their bow to an audience in the capital.

and at other times,

——“Crouching for wretched means of life,  
To Madam May’ress, or his worship’s wife.”

The prejudices against actors in England, may be traced up to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the indecency of the secular plays was so great, that the clergy were prevented from frequenting them, by the sixteenth canon of the fourth general council of Lateran, A. D. 1215. *Du Pin Eccl. Hist.*

\* Mr. Garrick, we believe, was about twenty-four, and Mr. Powell nearly of the same age, when they became public candidates for fame. Of the latter it may be truly and literally said, that he “felt the ruling passion strong in death.” We have been told by a surviving friend, that when on his death-bed, after Mrs. P. had left the room, and while Miss Hannah Moore sat near him, his

It is a well-known fact, however, that attempts had been made to breed up young actors for the stage, so early as the reign of the Maiden Queen. When the Bankside, the Fortune, and the other theatres of that day, if *theatres* they ought to be called, were contending for superiority, it appears that novelty was aimed at, by the introduction of the children, belonging to the Chapel Royal. Shakspeare manifestly alludes to this; for one of his most conspicuous characters, while speaking of the performers of that day, expresses himself thus :

HAMLET.

“ Do they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the city? Are they so followed ?

ROSENCRANTZ.

“ No, indeed, they are not.

HAMLET.

“ How comes it? Do they grow rusty ?

ROSENCRANTZ.

“ Nay, their endeavours keep in their wonted place; but there is, sir, *an aerey of children, little eyases\** that cry out on the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapped for it. *These are now the fashion.*

HAMLET.

“ Do the *boys* carry it away ?

ROSENCRANTZ.

“ Ay, that they do, my lord.”

check was suddenly suffused with a fine lively colour. He at the same time threw himself into the proper attitude, and exclaimed,

“ Is this a dagger that I see before me ?

A moment after this, as if sensible of his imminent danger, he cried out “ O God !” and instantly expired.

\* Mr. Pope defines “ little eyases,” the “ young nestlings, creatures just out of the eggs.”

Mr.

Mr. Garrick, when at the height of his celebrity, conceived the idea of instituting a regular school for actors and actresses. Several promising children, chiefly those of performers, were accordingly pitched upon, and certain appropriate plays were, in the language of the theatre, *got up*, with a view of introducing them. “Edgar and Emmeline,” “Miss in her Teens,” &c. &c. were actually performed by these alone.

Notwithstanding his astonishing reputation, this great Master of the Passions, it is well known, has more than once played Hamlet and Lear to empty benches; while at other times Miss Brent, in the character of “Polly,” counterbalanced the heroes of Shakspeare, although personated even by him. It was, perhaps, in consequence of this caprice, that he attempted, by rearing a *seed-bed* of theatrical performers, to encrease his fortune, and add to the reputation of his house. But whatever might have been his precise motives, he failed, most completely failed, in the object; for two\* alone of all these candidates attained any reputation at that period, and but one† of the whole group exhibited any talents at a riper age.

It has been far different with the subject of this memoir. He burst all at once upon the world, and has been allowed by men of profound judgment to possess many of the chief requisites for forming a perfect actor. The applause which he has received

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\* Master Simpson and Miss Pope.

† Miss Pope.

in the principal theatres of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be considered by some as a tribute to novelty; but it will hardly be suspected that such men as a Smith, a Home, a Macconochie,\* and a Fox, would be so grossly deficient in point of judgment as to lavish their praise on an object utterly unworthy of applause. Indeed, it must be confessed, that this young man has no occasion to complain of the want of patronage. At an early period of his reputation, he was noticed by one of the Princes of the blood. He has since been presented to the King, and the Heir Apparent to the Throne, and passed some time at the villas of our nobles and statesmen. Nor has the press been slow in celebrating his fame; for he has been praised both in poetry and prose. Prints of him have been circulated throughout the kingdom. Two of his portraits† have been exhibited at Somerset House, and an engraving by a great artist is now preparing. Even our Universities have condescended to notice him, as he has lately become the subject of a prize medal at Cambridge.‡

In respect to the characters in which he has appeared, some of them do not as yet present a sufficient degree of *verisimilitude*. It is impossible, indeed, for a mere boy to preserve the illusion for

\* Lord Meadowbank.

† One by Opie, and another by Northcote.

‡ We understand that the following is the subject of the epigram for Sir William Browne's prize-medal:

“Quid noster Roscius egit?”

any length of time in Rolla, Osmond, and Richard III.; but in Hamlet, Norval, Achmet, and Romeo, the probabilities of human life are not so grossly outraged.

His person, considering his age, is rather tall, and the author of this article has been informed by one of the principal persons belonging to Drury Lane, that he increased in stature nearly two inches in the course of last winter. His features, when off the stage, are not very expressive, yet his limbs are finely turned, and happily formed. He possesses a piercing eye, but his nose is not prominent, while his face is rather flat. His hair, on the other hand, is not only luxuriant, but of a most beautiful hue, some-what between a flaxen colour and a brown. He is not unconscious of this, and takes care to display his ringlets on critical occasions with effect. He dances well, and fences with grace and dexterity; for the latter accomplishment he is indebted partly to his father, and partly to Mr. Angelo. In respect to his memory, he, perhaps, excels all his contemporaries, and even most of his predecessors: it is in no common degree retentive, and scarcely requires in the course of a whole night the aid of a prompter in one single instance.

William Henry West Betty is by birth a Salopian, having been born in St. Chad's parish, Shrewsbury, on the 13th of September 1791, as appears from a copy of his register, signed by the clerk; and we learn from the same authority that he was christened on the 18th of September of that year. He is descended from reputable families on both sides:

for his father, William Henry, after whom he was named,\* is the son of the late Dr. Betty, a physician of some eminence at Lisburne in Ireland; while his mother, Miss Mary Stanton, is the daughter of Mr. Stanton, a person of considerable property in the county of Worcester. With this lady, who was well educated, he received some fortune, which is settled, we understand, upon the children. It has been strenuously denied that she ever performed on a public stage, or was in the habit of appearing on the boards of private theatres, a suggestion by means of which it has been attempted to account for the early proficiency of the son.

Having changed his residence from Hopton Wafers in the county of Salop, soon after the birth of this boy, Mr. Betty repaired to his native country, and settling in the north of Ireland, occupied a farm near Ballynahinch, in the county of Down. Being in the centre of that district, which is so celebrated on account of the linen-manufactory, he is said to have attempted an increase to his income by engaging in that line of business.

In the mean time the son grew up and conducted himself as children of his years usually do, without affording any extraordinary symptoms of early genius, or discovering the least presage of future celebrity. Much has been said and written of late years relative to *original talents*, and it now seems to be acknowledged

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\* The addendum of West was in compliment to a family of that name at Worcester.

that extraordinary men are gifted with a general excellence, which by a fortunate direction towards any one science or profession, enables them to attain eminence in it. It is possible, indeed, that the mind might be fully equal to a situation for which the body is not at all fitted: but an exquisite *adaptation* of both to the same object, cannot fail of producing eminence, and ensuing celebrity. This was exactly the case in the present instance; and Master Betty in his eleventh year, a period when other children have not as yet thought of, far less fixed on, their future career, finally decided on his station in life.

At this period, the reputation of our great female tragedian, which had hitherto been confined to Great Britain, was extended to another portion of the empire, and the people of Ireland were captivated in their turn. Previously to the summer of 1802, the subject of this memoir had never as yet seen a play. Nature, however, had already fitted him in some measure for his future destiny, by enabling him, young as he then was, to comprehend the excellence of others. His memory was in no common degree retentive, and he had imbibed from the lessons and examples of a fond mother, a decided taste for recitation. Thus the foundation of the future actor may be said to have been already laid; and when, in addition to this, it is mentioned that he already exhibited an ardour, which in due time assumed the appearance and produced all the effects of ambition, we shall be the less surprised at what now occurred.

Mrs. Siddons, during her excursion to Ireland,  
having

having agreed to perform a few nights at Belfast, the Bettys repaired to that theatre, and were present at the representation of Pizarro. It was not, however, with Rolla, but with Elvira, that the boy was captivated. He repeated her speeches, imitated her manner, copied her accents, and studied her attitudes. Nor was he inattentive to the applause which she had obtained; and he might have truly said with one of the heroes of antiquity, that these triumphs "would not allow him to sleep."

From this moment, the drama became his chief study, as to recite favourite speeches was the chief business of his tender years. The applause obtained by his efforts already gave him a taste of the future reputation he was to earn; and this at length becoming the master-passion of his soul, he frankly informed his father, "that he should die if he were not permitted to become a player."

There is surely nothing very encouraging even at the present period in this profession. Every moon-struck apprentice fancies he possesses talents for the stage; and he who finds himself incapable of making a shoe, or a table, or a coat, still thinks he is fitted by nature to draw forth the rapturous and involuntary praises of an admiring audience. This passion has been finely ridiculed by the late Mr. Murphy, in a popular farce.\* Such is, indeed, the

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\* The Upholsterer. The prologue, which abounds with *point*, concludes, we believe, with the following lines:

"Not ev'n attorneys have this rage withstood;  
But chang'd their pens for truncheons, ink for blood,  
And, sad reverse, die for their country's good!"

odium attached to the condition of an itinerant player, and so despicable their profits, which are generally coupled with the degrading idea of "sixpences and candle-ends," that parents revolt at the bare mention of it.

The darling passion, however, of a darling son, was in this instance gratified; for young Betty, after due consideration, was introduced to Mr. Atkins, the manager of the theatre at Belfast; and in his presence rehearsed some favourite passages from the part of Elvira.

The gloomy and disastrous state of Ireland at this period, being peculiarly unfavourable to exhibitions of every kind, nothing was as yet effected, and martial law soon after precluded the efforts of the sock and buskin. But however disadvantageous it might prove to the nation at large, this state of affairs afforded a fine opportunity to the future tragedian, for strengthening his powers, and adding to his stock of knowledge. Mr. Hough, the Prompter, a man of penetration, and capable of instructing others, now found leisure to pay a visit to the family; and although nature appears to have already in some degree fitted the pupil for the stage, yet it is allowed by all that he is not a little indebted for his present fame and success to the indefatigable exertions of this master, under whose friendly tuition he studied the parts of Rolla, Douglas, and Osman.\* Nor was this all: for he

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\* Some disputes unfortunately occurred between the dramatic tutor and the family of his pupil, in the course of which one of the parties is said to have exclaimed,

“Blow,

represented his attainments in so favourable a point of view to Mr. Atkins, that he was engaged by him for four nights, and thus actually performed, amidst bursts of applause, on those very boards on which he had at first beheld the English heroine with wonder and delight.

It was on the first of August, 1803, when yet a child of eleven\* years and eleven months old, that he appeared for the first time in the character of Osman, in the tragedy of *Zara*. His reception was flattering, and for an initiatory performance, in which a boy was to personate a man, it was allowed that he had achieved wonders. In *Young Norval*, a character more suitable to his years, he appeared to greater advantage; and in *Rolla* and *Romeo*, which he played in succession, considering the difficulty of sustaining such first-rate characters, he was allowed to have satisfied credulity, and silenced scepticism.

Such a phenomenon in the theatrical world soon raised the curiosity of the metropolis of Ireland, and after thus trying his strength in a provincial theatre, he was accordingly invited to the capital, where he

“ Blow, blow, thou winter’s wind !

Thou art not so unkind

As man’s ingratitude !”

We are happy in having learned, however, that this affair has been amicably adjusted, and that the sum of fifty guineas a year has been settled on Mr. Hough for life.

\* It appears that when the performance was announced, the years were mentioned but the odd months omitted, as the advertisement announced, “ a young gentleman of *eleven years of age*.”  
performed

performed every night to overflowing houses, and acquired the appellation of the "Infant Roscius."\*

From Cork, where he received one-fourth of the receipts of the house, and a clear benefit, and was not a little followed and caressed, he repaired to Glasgow, in 1804, and played his series of characters, commencing with the most appropriate of all, that of Young Norval, during a period of fourteen nights. In Scotland, indeed, he was received with enthusiasm, particularly in the capital†. There the play

\* It has been since remarked that the name of Æsopus would have been more suitable:

"Roscius citator, Æsopus gravior fuit, quod  
ille comedias, hic tragedias egit."

Under Roscius, Cicero studied his attitudes, and also his pronunciation. As to Clodius Æsopus, he died worth upwards of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; a sum which young Betty, provided his improvement be progressive, may some day realize. We trust, however, that he will never be so luxurious as his Roman precursor, who appears to have had pies made of singing-birds at his table, each of which cost forty or fifty guineas.

† The lawyers of the Scottish metropolis have always been considered as its critics, in respect to theatrical affairs. From these young Betty received the most flattering reception; and by one of them, (Lord Meadowbank) he was presented with Beattie's *Minstrel*, accompanied by a very elegant letter, in which he expresses his wish that he should read that work; "as," says he, "it exhibits a most interesting picture of the inspirations of youthful genius, and of the anticipations of future excellence, while it delineates, in delightful and true colours, that immense field of study which years must cultivate and master, before you can be entitled to the highest honours of your profession.

"Give me leave to add," continues his lordship, "that the strictest guard over your own conduct, and the most inviolable  
seclusion

of Douglas was acted amidst the plaudits of an audience at once flattered and pleased; while the venerable author, after a lapse of nearly half a century, pronounced the young tragedian to be "the genuine offspring and the son of Douglas;" and prophesied "that he would soon be one of the first actors that had ever appeared upon the British stage."

At length he repaired to the country which had given him birth, and appeared in one of our great manufacturing towns for fourteen nights, in the characters of Norval, Hamlet, Rolla, Richard, Frederick, and Octavian; on the last of which the receipts amounted to two hundred and sixty-six pounds. On this occasion we may be allowed to parody a poetic line, and exclaim,

"The men of Birmingham shed *golden* tears!"

In the mean time, the London managers were not inattentive to their interests; and after a visit of friendship to Worcester, and professional exertions at Sheffield, Liverpool, Chester, &c. he was engaged at Covent Garden for twelve nights, at fifty guineas a night, and a clear benefit; while he agreed to perform in Drury Lane during the *intervening nights*; a circumstance more gratifying to the town, than advantageous to the child.

It was early in December 1804, that Master Betty, after a previous performance of Achmet in

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seclusion from the brutifying society of coarse or immoral characters is essential, either to obtain or preserve the bodily vigour, the penetrating discernment, and the purity of taste, on the happiest combination of which your future eminence must depend."

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the tragedy of Barbarossa, first appeared before a London audience in his favourite character of Douglas. Mrs. Litchfield acted Lady Randolph. On his first entrance, the extreme youth of the candidate for public fame, seemed to bespeak but little promise of excellence; and when questioned by Lord Randolph, the manner of his reply did not fully realize all that had been expected:

——“ A low-born man, of parentage obscure,  
Who nought can boast, but his desire to be  
A soldier, and to gain a name in arms.”

He, however, manifestly improved as he proceeded, and discovered his supposed lineage with considerable effect:

“ My name is Norval: on the Grampian hills  
My father feeds his flock,” &c.

But it was in the description of his friend and instructor, that he rivetted the attention of the audience, and realised their expectations:

“ Small is the skill my lord delights to praise  
In him he favours. Hear from whence it came.  
Beneath a mountain's brow, the most remote  
And inaccessible by shepherds trod,  
In a deep cave, dug by no mortal hand,  
A hermit liv'd; a melancholy man!  
Who was the wonder of our wand'ring swains.  
Austere and lonely, cruel to himself,  
Did they report him; the cold earth his bed,  
Water his drink, his food the shepherds' alms.  
I went to see him, and my heart was touch'd  
With reverence and with pity. Mild he spake,  
And entering on discourse, such stories told,  
As made me oft revisit his sad cell.  
For he had been a soldier in his youth;

And

And fought in famous battles, when the peers  
 Of Europe, by the bold Godfredo led,  
 Against th' usurping infidel display'd  
 The blessed cross, and won the Holy Land.  
 Pleas'd with my admiration, and the fire  
 His speech struck from me, the old man would shake  
 His years away, and act his young encounters:  
 Then, having shew'd his wounds, he'd sit him down,  
 And all the livelong day discourse of war.  
 To help my fancy, in the smooth green turf  
 He cut the figures of the marshall'd hosts;  
 Describ'd the motions, and explain'd the use,  
 Of the deep column, and the lengthen'd line,  
 The square, the crescent, and the phalanx firm:  
 For all that Saracen or Christian knew  
 Of war's vast art, was to this hermit known."

After this, he described the hermit's quarrel with

"A rude and boist'rous captain of the sea."

And then disclosed the catastrophe with peculiar effect:

—"Fierce they fought;  
 The stranger fell, and with his dying breath  
 Declar'd his name and lineage. Mighty Pow'r!  
 The soldier cried, My brother! oh, my brother!"

In his interview with his mother too, the interesting passages were distinctly marked, and the pathos well preserved. *Something* was doubtless still wanting, something that was impossible to be acquired; for the samllness of the figure, the unformed voice, and the extreme youth of the actor, were not calculated to *realize* the scene, and justify the exclamation,

"The blood of Douglas will protect itself!"

And

And again :

“ Some in your cause will arm; I ask but few  
To drive these spoilers from my father’s house.”

He now increased his list of characters to fourteen or fifteen, and by appearing, in turns, as Romeo, Frederick, Octavian, Hamlet, Tancred, Osman, Achmet,\* and Richard, has proved that his powers

\* Mr. Smith, formerly of Drury Lane, came to town on purpose to witness the performance of Master Betty, and after seeing him in the characters of Achmet and Douglas, presented him with a cornelian seal set in gold, in which was engraved a beautiful and correct impression of the head of Garrick. The subjoined addresses, in poetry and prose, accompanied this very flattering token of approbation from a veteran actor, and one of the few remaining disciples of the Old School.

TO MASTER BETTY.

“ Roscius, the boast of Rome’s dramatic story,  
Left undisputed trophies of his glory;  
Not more illustrious by his scenic art,  
Than by the social virtues of his heart.

“ Our BRITISH ROSCIUS, great and good,  
When on the summit of applause he stood,  
*Melpomene* and gay *Thalia* joined  
To grace his talents with a taste refin’d;  
Whilst these immortaliz’d his splendid name,  
His virtues consecrated all his fame.

“ May’st thou, young genius of the present hour,  
Whose bud anticipates so rare a flower,  
Spreading thy blossoms to a ripen’d age,  
Prove a third Roscius to th’ admiring stage;  
And like those stars of Britain and of Rome,  
Bear thy unfaded laurels to the tomb.”

The following letter, while it reflects no mean credit on Master Betty, confers great honour on the writer :

1805-1806,

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“ Young

are general, and his talents various. If much on one hand remains to be accomplished, much also, on the other, appears to have been achieved; and it is allowed by all, that so early a display of excellence was never before witnessed in a British theatre.

Premature knowledge in some other arts has indeed been frequently obtained. In drawing, which may be considered as a refinement of the sense of sight aided by the pliability of the fingers, some infant pupils have exhibited great taste. But it is in music that real wonders have been achieved. Samuel Wesley was a composer before he could write, ac-

“ Young Gentleman,

“ The fame of your talents has drawn an old fellow-labourer in the theatric vineyard from his retirement at a considerable distance, in a very advanced age, and he feels himself well rewarded for his trouble.

“ May your success continue, and may you live to be an honour to the stage, and to your country.

“ Let me recommend to you strict attention to the moral duties, and to the cultivation of your mind, by the arts and *belles lettres*; without which little improvement can be gained in your profession, much less in society.

“ Accept from me a strong likeness of your great predecessor Garrick. When you are acquainted with his character, keep his virtues in your mind, and imitate his professional talents as far as possible.

“ Could'st thou in this engraved pebble trace  
The living likeness of his plastic face;  
Whilst thy congenial spirit caught its fire,  
His magic eye would thy whole soul inspire.

“ I am yours, &c.

“ W. SMITH.”

cording

cording to the testimony of Dr. Burney. Frederica Wynne, when six years old, executed the lessons of Scarlatti with precision. Mozart, at the age of four, was not only capable of executing lessons on the harpsicord, but actually composed some in an easy style and taste.\* But William Crouch, born at Norwich, July 5, 1775, is perhaps the most celebrated instance of early proficiency; he having of his own accord, and without any previous instruction, played a popular tune† on an organ constructed by his father, when only two years and three weeks old, and a voluntary in about a month after.

But it is surely far more difficult to create an actor than a musician. In the latter case it is only necessary to possess one sense in an exquisite degree, and this is not unfrequently obtained at the expence sometimes, perhaps, of the understanding. But to make a great actor, the union of a variety of qualifications becomes absolutely necessary: voice, manner, memory, judgment, person, and mental acquirements. To these are to be added several other requisites, such as dancing and fencing; and to complete the whole, music itself should assuredly be included.

By means of all the necessary accomplishments, added to a free and easy air, young Betty is enabled not only to tread the stage with elegance, but occasionally to engage in combat with a degree of science

\* Philosophical Transactions, vol. lx, for 1770.

† God save the King.

that astonishes even an expert swordsman. None of our veteran actors exhibit a greater degree of self-possession: this is requisite in every performer, and in a hero indispensable. He himself also is carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, and appears to feel as if the scene were real;\* in short, his powers are so various, that he in some respects resembles the "admirable Crichton."

Such is our description of this new Roscius at the present moment. What he may be hereafter, depends upon his parents and himself. They must be already in possession of affluence from his earnings,† which have been beyond example abundant; and whether it be intended that he should retire wholly from the stage, or adopt it as a permanent profession, something should be done on the score of education; for it is evident that more pains have been necessarily taken to cultivate his memory than to instruct his mind, and that he has hitherto become better acquainted with words than with ideas.

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\* The author of this article was behind the scenes, and at his side, when he retired, as *Douglas*, to inflict the bloody wound on his forehead, by means of a little *red paint*, and can testify that every muscle of his countenance was agitated by the same passions that were likely to be displayed in real life. In short, he appeared for the time to conceive the whole to be *true*.

† In 1805, young Betty got from fifty to one hundred pounds per night. In 1728, the celebrated Lavinia Fenton, afterwards Duchess of Bolton, for a salary of fifteen shillings deserted the Hay Market for Covent Garden; and deemed herself enriched when, after performing Polly in the Beggar's Opera, she was raised to thirty shillings per week.

It appears absolutely necessary, therefore, for the benefit of his health, as well as of his studies, that he should retire for a time from public life. The warmest of his admirers cannot maintain that he has as yet attained the climax of excellence. Much remains to be accomplished; and when the novelty of precocious talents is gone, other supports, and those of a more durable kind, will be wanting. Let it be recollected, that all our great actors endeavoured by study to add to the advantages, or supply the defects of education; and that although they have held in no small estimation

“ The scenic triumph and the loud applause;  
The robe of purple, and the people’s gaze;”

yet even they have at times experienced the caprice of fortune. It is a well-known fact, that the greatest of our players, although backed by nature and Shakespeare, was overborne for a while by the torrent of Rich and Pantomime, and that he retired for a time from mere disgust. By unceasing study and attention, however, he rendered himself a complete master of his art, and in his turn triumphed over the muscular exertions of flying Harlequins, the mechanical dexterity of showmen and scene-shifters, and all the pageantry introduced by this rival.

It is thus, and thus only, that young Betty can ever attain excellence; and it is by these means alone that he may at length be enabled to equal, for it is hardly possible to suppose that he will ever excel the veteran actors of the last age. Premature

powers, after blazing forth like a meteor, have suddenly become dim, as if nature had been exhausted. It is by a judicious course of study, by toil and industry alone, that lasting fame can be attained. With the assistance of these, young Roscius may attain the summit of his art; while without it, like Master Crouch, he may prove but the wonder of a day.

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### REV. HENRY BATE DUDLEY.

IN a country like Great Britain, the government of which is linked together by the sacred ties of religion, the character of a clergyman will at all times find from society a sort of reverential awe, an awe which is inspired from the most virtuous of motives; so that the divine truths which he is chosen to disseminate, must flow from his lips with a double effect.

Among the most dissolute in society, there is not one who is callous to the voice of Omnipotence. However he may outwardly affect the sneer of contempt when the word of God is dealt out from the pulpit, that stern monitor, conscience, which is implanted within his breast, is present to his view, and in spite of his mockery compels him to acknowledge the existence of a Creator.

In all ages then the cloth has been held as respectable; and its professors have found in all countries

countries that deference and regard which is due to them as the ministers of God.

The subject of our present memoir is a clergyman. He is the son of the Rev. Mr. Bate, of Worcester, a clergyman of the greatest respectability, who conducted a seminary for the education of youth; and had to boast of having instructed the sons of the principal nobility and gentry in his neighbourhood.

The amiableness of Mr. Bate's character endeared him to all acquaintance. The present Mr. Bate Dudley, (who took the name of Dudley in consequence of the will of a friend, who left him an estate), was the second child of twelve born to his father in wedlock. Upon the death of the old gentleman, the younger branches of the family were left in some measure unprovided for; it therefore ought to be mentioned to the honour of the fraternal feelings and beneficence of Mr. Bate Dudley, that he appropriated the whole of the emoluments arising from the living of North Fambridge, which he held very early in life, to the maintenance and education of his orphan brothers and sisters. Actions like this are traits in the characters of men which the world know how to appreciate, and to the mind possessing such benevolence, must be a source of intellectual delight which none but feeling hearts can know.

At the proper age, Mr. Bate Dudley was entered of Queen's College, Oxford, where having finished his studies, he removed from thence, and was or-

dained by the Right Reverend Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, and shortly after was inducted to the living of North Fambridge, in Essex. He also held the curacy of Leatherhead in the county of Surry.

While at college, Mr. Bate Dudley was particularly noticed for his attention to the rules prescribed by the head, but more so for the very great progress he made in learning. When, however, he was emancipated from the trammels which are necessarily imposed upon the inmates of the sequestered haunts of education, he was not altogether (as is common with young men) proof against the fascinating allurements of the gay world. Hence we find this gentleman mixing with its votaries, and partaking of its pleasures. Possessing a heart formed of materials which do honour to human nature, Mr. Bate Dudley on all occasions was found the most active in supporting and protecting injured innocence, and in avenging the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor.

Let it not be imagined for a moment that the cloth is or ought to be exempt from the natural feelings of worldly men. When, as must ever be the case, a clergyman mixes with society, it becomes his duty, by every means in his power to contribute towards the well-doing of that society; and when engaged in a participation of the comforts which are derivable from thence, should any untoward circumstances arise, which  
may

may call for his interference, he is absolutely bound to step forward in the support of the weak and the injured.

In the early part of Mr. Bate Dudley's life, it was his peculiar lot to associate with some of the most public characters of the day ; and in the course of that association, he of necessity was thrown into the company of persons who, despising the more orderly and decorous rules laid down for its good government, were prone to constant excesses. In correcting these excesses, Mr. Bate Dudley was always a firm and useful Mentor ; and upon all occasions has evinced a steady and determined adherence to the principles of justice.

Though it may be said that a clergyman ought not to interfere in the brawls which may arise, yet it must be acknowledged that when unexpectedly he is placed in such a situation, he is bound to check, and if possible put an end to them. In many cases Mr. Bate Dudley has been a successful and firm advocate for the cause of peace, though on some occasions he has unfortunately been engaged in controversies which were carried on at the point of the sword.

It was on one of these occasions that he was involved in a very unpleasant adventure ; and though the man who acted so disgraceful and ungentleman-like a part, has quitted this life and gone to atone for his crimes before the Supreme Judge, yet candour compels us to state shortly the facts as they were.

During the Vauxhall season in 1777, the celebrated

brated Mrs. Hartley, the actress, was at Vauxhall with a party of friends, enjoying the pleasures of that delightful spot. In the course of the evening this lady and her friends were most unseasonably broken in upon and disturbed by the man to whom we have alluded, and whose name was George Robert Fitzgerald. On that occasion Mr. Dudley afforded his protection to Mrs. Hartley, against the rude attacks of Mr. Fitzgerald; the consequence was that he was challenged by, and met him afterwards at a coffee-house in the Strand, where Mr. Fitzgerald received that chastisement which his insolence demanded. This rencontre happened while he was editor of the *Morning Post*; and some observations in that paper respecting Madame D'Eon, who at that time figured away in this kingdom, drew upon him the resentment of a man named De Morande, a confidential friend of Madame le Chevalier's. Mr. Dudley condescended to meet him, and the result of that meeting was highly honourable to the personal courage and gentlemanly conduct of Mr. Dudley.

It was a short time before these transactions, that Mr. Dudley's active mind led him to engage with some gentlemen in the *Morning Post*, a paper of some reputation, and in the management of which he reserved to himself the principal share. This co-partnership, however, was not of long duration, owing to a circumstance which happened during the administration of the Duke of Richmond at the Ordnance Board. A letter, containing some severe strictures upon the conduct of the Noble Duke, hav-

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ing found its way into the paper, a criminal prosecution was commenced against Mr. Dudley as the principal proprietor, in which case judgment was given against him. The consequence was, that Mr. Dudley took umbrage and quitted the concern, establishing immediately afterwards the *Morning Herald*, which to the present day holds its rank among the daily papers. This paper was commenced on the 1st of November 1780, and has continued under the principal control of Mr. Dudley ever since.

From the acquaintance which subsists between Mr. Dudley and Mr. Fox, it may naturally be supposed that gentleman is attached to the principles of so enlightened a statesman; we must however do him the justice to acknowledge, that no considerations of private friendship, however great they might be, have ever induced him to depart from the strict line of duty as a public journalist. He has upon all occasions supported or decried the measures of the reigning administration of the day, as they appeared to him to deserve applause, or to call loudly for censure, strictly avoiding a blind partiality for opposition, and exercising that true British spirit of feeling—an independant and unbiassed mind!

There never was a period in the history of literature in which public generosity was so much exerted as at the present moment, and strange as it may appear, there never was a period in which that generosity was so ill requited. The number of diurnal journals now published is greater than any former precedent can shew. The public seek with avidity for intelligence, they purchase these journals, and  
confidently

confidently expect to be repaid with the coin of early, impartial, and true intelligence of the passing events of the day—'tis a coin which they have a right to expect, but 'tis a coin which they cannot obtain! The result is obvious; they honestly and unsuspectingly are imposed upon. Day after day the same imposition is practised, and so eager is their thirst for information, that unwittingly they continue in error, in hopes that the succeeding day may bring them nearer the fountain of truth. The fact is, that the expectation of finding truth in the newspapers, is almost as hopeless as the expectation of finding the philosopher's stone. The several gentlemen to whom the editorships are entrusted, are undoubtedly possessed of much learning and ability; but it happens most unfortunately for their patrons, the public, that the sources from whence they gain intelligence are stagnate; consequently clear and wholesome draughts cannot be drawn. In the conduct of a newspaper, with respect to the literary department, it must be known to the public, that many persons are employed. Many of these persons are possessed of learning, and are indefatigable in their several avocations; but their labours, fatal experience has shewn the uselessness of! Instead of directing their attentions to procure early and important information upon points of political knowledge, we find daily long, laboured, inconclusive, and incomprehensible articles, which in the language of the shop are called "*leading paragraphs*," and

and which consist wholly of a string of words huddled together in the form of sentences, which they obtrude upon the attention of the public, and which in fact are nothing more than their own *opinions*!—These are literary impositions. The public care as much for the *opinions* of newspaper editors, as they do for the opinions of the sages of the antipodes. Instead of thrusting them forward, the public would be obliged by a plain statement of facts, unaccompanied by these opinions; to which plain statement of facts, if they would also condescend to add a little more intelligence of what is passing at home, the obligation would be doubled.

These observations, however, do not apply to the paper of which Mr. Dudley is proprietor: that paper has been particularly noticed for the conciseness of its political remarks; the gentleman to whom the conduct has been entrusted, very judiciously chusing to leave the public to make their own comments, rather than by an affected display of political knowledge, to endeavour at entrapping the judgments of his readers. Such conduct must deserve well of the public, and the impartiality which is apparent throughout the paper justifies the assertion.

Mr. Dudley has the perpetual advowson of the rectory of Bradwell *Juxta Mare*, Essex. This living he became the patron of in the year 1780; it was bought in trust for him, subject to the life of the then incumbent (Mr. Pawson). Upon the death of that gentleman, in the year 1797, Mr. Dudley applied to the Bishop of London to be instituted to the living

living, proposing to vacate that of North Frambridge; but here, most unexpectedly, he was not only refused the induction, by the reverend Prelate, but another person appointed in his room! A very long controversy ensued upon the subject between the Bishop and the Patron; the former contending that the transaction, as between Mr. Pawson and the trustees, was illegal. The consequence of this controversy was as we have stated, although Mr. Dudley waved his own right of presentation in favour of his brother-in-law (Mr. Birch), and consented to a judgment of *non pros.* being entered on the *quare impedit* cause, which was set down for trial.

The case was peculiarly hard in respect to Mr. Dudley, (who at the expence of nearly thirty thousand pounds expended in the parish of Bradwell), conceived he had an undoubted right to the induction. When Mr. Dudley first took possession of Bradwell, he found the church, chancel, parsonage, buildings, and premises, gone to general decay; the church-yard fenceless from the sea; the glebe-land, which consisted of nearly three hundred acres, inundated; and indeed the whole appearance of the place such as to give an idea of *Arabia Deserta*; no rector or vicar residing within many miles, or any decent assistant to be procured for the discharge of the parochial duties. He accordingly commenced his residence as curate, and by a regular performance of the church service, increased the congregation, rebuilt the free-school, built a new house on the rectory, drained the glebe-lands, and embanked an additional  
portion

portion from the sea, for which he received a gold medal from the Society of Arts and Sciences; and by a vigorous and unremitting discharge of his duty as a magistrate of the county of Essex, contributed in the most effectual manner to the good order and government of that part of the county. So well satisfied were the Lord-Lieutenant, Sheriff, and the principal gentlemen of the county, of his meritorious services, that they signed a memorial upon the case, which was presented to the Bishop of London by his Lordship's Chancellor Sir William Scott.

Subsequently to these transactions, however, Mr. Dudley has obtained some satisfaction in return for the hardships of the case from the hands of government. Within the course of the last year he has been preferred to be Chancellor of the diocese of Ferns, with the rectory of Kelcoran, in Ireland, annexed, which are very valuable appointments.

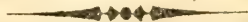
Mr. Dudley is married to a lady, whose accomplishments of mind and person are the themes of universal panegyric. With this lady (formerly Miss White) he has enjoyed an uninterrupted course of domestic felicity for the space of twenty-six years. Perhaps there scarcely exists any instance in which those truly beneficent qualities of mind, feeling, and benevolence, are united so closely as in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Dudley: objects of charity never apply at their door for relief in vain; and while the heart overflows at the tale of woe, the hand is opened to chase away the gloom of despair. Various are the instances

instances falling within our remembrance, in which;  
to use the language of the poet, they have

“ Done good, and blush’d to find it fame.”

Mr. Dudley possesses a vigorous mind, much vivacity in conversation, and is particularly firm in his friendships. As is always the case with men of generous hearts, he is strong in his resentments of injuries: his own honour, which never was tarnished, is slow to forgive a dereliction of principle in other men; yet he must be allowed to possess a proper sense of that “ charity to the faults of others,” which his divine master’s doctrines so beautifully inculcate.

As an author, Mr. Dudley has favoured the public with a variety of theatrical pieces, among which may be noticed *The Flitch of Bacon*, *The Woodman*, *The Travellers in Switzerland*, *The Rival Candidates*, &c.; all of which have been received by the public with the utmost approbation, and deservedly rank as favourites.



VICE-ADMIRAL SIR A. MITCHELL, K. B.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF AT HALIFAX.

“ England, bound in with the triumphant sea,  
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege  
Of wat’ry Neptune.” KING RICHARD II.

THE navy, to borrow a well-known phrase from its own vocabulary, may be justly termed “ the sheet anchor” of the British Isles. In the course of our labours we have been eager therefore to present  
its

its living worthies in succession to the public eye ; and now gladly seize the present opportunity of adding another to the groupe. Our maritime position is admirably adapted for rearing a school of heroes, and the success with which our ancestors as well as ourselves have attended to this circumstance, fully justifies the exclamation of our great dramatic bard :

“ This happy breed of men ; this little world ;  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands ;  
This blessed spot, this earth, this realm, this England.”—

It is to this fortunate position, indeed, and the consequences arising out of it, that we are indebted alike for our glory and our security. A period of more than half a century has now elapsed since the tranquillity of our island has been disturbed by the note of war, and in the course of that time, we have repeatedly carried terror and destruction to the shores of our enemies by means of our fleets and armies. Even now, when Europe is again in uproar, and hostile armies advance against each other, on the banks of the Rhine and the Adige, Britain enjoys the same happy security as in the piping times of peace.

Sir Andrew Mitchell is a native of one of the southern counties of Scotland. He was born in or about the year 1757, and received his education at Edinburgh, in one of those public grammar-schools

1805-1806.

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which

which contribute so powerfully to the education of the youth of that country. His father having died while young, the care of his early years devolved entirely on the mother, who we believe still survives, and resides at or near Leith.

Being destined for the navy,\* he was placed on the quarter-deck of the *Rippon*, then commanded by the late Admiral Sir Edward Vernon, with whom he repaired to India in 1776, and he exhibits a memorable instance of a young man's arriving in Asia in the capacity of a midshipman, and returning to Europe as a post-captain.

France having declared in favour of the insurgent Americans, India soon became the scene of action, and Sir Edward Vernon, who we believe then hoisted a broad pendant as a commodore, had several brushes with the enemy. On the 10th of August 1778, in particular, he fell in with the fleet

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\* He is not the only gentleman of his name who has distinguished himself in the sea-service of this country. Sir David Mitchell, descended from a family more celebrated for integrity than riches, after serving during seven years as an apprentice in a coasting vessel out of Leith, happened to be pressed, and distinguished himself in such a manner during the second Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. that in 1667-8 he was promoted to be a lieutenant, and afterwards to be a captain, in the latter of which capacities he commanded the *Ruby* and the *Richmond*. In the reign of William III. he rose to be an admiral, and the last public act of his life appears to have been his mission to the Dutch, in character of a Plenipotentiary, to expostulate with their High Mightinesses, on account of the deficiency of their quota.

commanded

commanded by M. Frangolly, on the coast of Coromandel, on which occasion an indecisive action took place. But although the British squadron did not succeed in bringing the enemy to close quarters, yet it obliged them to leave the coast, on which the commodore took possession of the anchorage in Pondicherry road, and co-operated effectually in the reduction of that place. In the mean time Mr. Mitchell, who had been for some time a lieutenant, was promoted to the command of the Coventry of twenty-eight guns.

Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, having sailed from Spithead on the 8th of March 1779, on his arrival assumed the command in the Indian seas, and opened such a scene for naval tactics, as had never before been witnessed in that distant quarter of the globe. Being on board a small vessel, Captain Mitchell of course had it not in his power to enter the line of battle, which was so often formed against the able and gallant Count de Suffrein, and therefore was unable to distinguish himself in any of the general actions of that day. But in 1782, while cruising off Ceylon, we find him attacking the *Bellona*, a French forty-gun ship, which was forced to sheer off, after a sharp action of two hours and a half, in the course of which fifteen men were killed and twenty-nine wounded on the part of the English, and take refuge in the French fleet.\*

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\* Copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, dated "Superb, in Madras Road, August 16, 1782," to P. Stephens, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty:

Soon after this gallant action he was promoted to the Sultan of seventy-four guns, and was present in several general actions.

On the 20th of March 1783, Sir Edward Hughes sailed from Bombay for the Coast of Coromandel, and soon after learned from some English officers,

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“ SIR,

“ I beg you will be pleased to inform their Lordships that, since my closing my last letters to you, dated the 12th of this month, His Majesty's Frigate the *Medea*, Captain Gower, arrived and joined me here the 13th, and His Majesty's Frigate the *Coventry* this day from Bombay, where she has been completely repaired.

“ The *Medea* brought in with her a French ship about four hundred and fifty tons burden, laden with provisions and stores, bound to the Mauritius, &c.

“ Captain Mitchell, of the *Coventry*, informs me, that on the 12th of this month, off Friar's Hood, in the Island of Ceylon, he fell in with and attacked the *Bellona*, a French frigate of forty guns, and after a severe engagement of two hours and a half, the *Bellona* sheered off from the *Coventry*, and made sail to join the French fleet; and the *Coventry* had suffered so much in her masts and rigging, as not to be able to come up with her before she joined the French fleet, consisting of twenty three sail, which Captain Mitchell saw at anchor in the Battacalo Road, and was chased by two of their line of battle ships.

“ In the engagement the *Coventry* had fifteen men killed and twenty-nine wounded; and I hope to be able so far to repair her damages as to carry her to sea with me in two or three days.

“ Captain Mitchell speaks highly of the courage and good conduct of the *Coventry's* officers and men; and I trust their Lordships will give him his full share of merit, for having so gallantly attacked and beaten an enemy's ship so superior in force to his own.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ E. HUGHES.”

retaken

retaken in a grab, that the whole of the French fleet was in Trincomale harbour, with the exception of two of their best sailing line of battle ships, and two frigates, which had been ordered to cruise off Madras, for the purpose of intercepting all supplies. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Admiral immediately steered towards the blockaded harbour, and anchored in the road without having seen any thing of the French cruisers; but having learned that they had been in sight but the day before, he ordered Captain Andrew Mitchell to proceed with a small squadron\* in search of them. He returned however soon after, without having been so fortunate as to accomplish the object of his mission; yet Captain Graves, in the *Sceptre*, was lucky enough to fall in with and capture *La Naiade*, a French frigate of thirty guns and one hundred and sixty men.

On the 2d of May the Admiral again put to sea in quest of the French, and having reconnoitred the position of their squadron at Trincomale, on the 25th he found it so advantageously posted under the cover of their guns and mortar-batteries, that he deemed it imprudent to hazard an attack while at anchor. He therefore stood to the southward, to prevent any supplies being sent to Cuddalore, then besieged by General Stuart, and persevered in his intentions with such indefatigable zeal, that no less than eleven hundred and twenty-five of the sailors of the fleet were attacked with the scurvy, of whom six hundred and five were in the last stage of that disorder.

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\* The *Sultan*, *Burford*, *Africa*, *Eagle*, and *Active*.

At length the enemy, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ship,\* appeared in sight. On this the English squadron manœuvred for several days, in order to obtain the wind, but without success. However, on the 20th, the French Admiral having exhibited a disposition to engage, a line of battle was formed a-head, and a severe but distant cannonade took place, which terminated without any considerable advantage on either side: the loss on the part of the English was very considerable, and the Sultan in particular had a lieutenant and several of her crew killed and wounded during the action.

This was the last engagement in those seas, and it was lucky perhaps that the war terminated at this period, for the Admirals Hughes and Suffrein were so equally matched, that the loss of the flag-ship belonging to the former (the *Superbe*), which occurred soon after, during a heavy gale of wind in Telli-

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\* List of the French fleet in the action off Cuddalore, on the 20th of June 1783.

	Guns.		Guns.
Le Heros, .	74	Le Severe, .	64
Le Tonnant, .	74	Le Brillant, .	64
L'Hannibal, .	74	L'Hardi, .	64
L'Illustre, .	74	Le St. Michael, .	64
L'Argonaut, .	74	Le Flammand, .	50
Le Vengeur, .	74	Le Petit Hannibal, .	50
Le Sphinx, .	64	L'Apollon, .	40
L'Arlesien, .	64	La Cleopatra, .	36
L'Ajux, .	64	The Coventry, .	28

And a fire-ship, name unknown.

cherry

cherry Road, might have been attended with fatal consequences.

At the conclusion of hostilities, Captain Mitchell returned to Europe with a convoy ; and having obtained a considerable sum by way of prize-money, deemed himself secure of all those enjoyments which can be obtained by the possession of affluence in his native country. But, as it is well known, the independence of a naval officer in the British service too often depends on the fidelity, punctuality, and attention, of his agent ; and unfortunately for the subject of this memoir, his, who we believe happened to be a countryman of his own, was more occupied in feeling the pulse of a district of Scotch boroughs, with a view to a general election, than in attending to the interests of his clients. The result was, that after many years spent in active service abroad, Captain Mitchell found himself, soon after his arrival in London, bereaved of nearly all his fortune !

During the peace, like many other meritorious officers, he remained unemployed ; but no sooner did the war with France take place, than he was promoted to a ship, and we find him serving under Lord Howe, first on board the *Asia* of sixty-four, and then in the *Impregnable* of ninety guns. In 1795 he took rank as a Rear-Admiral ; but no opportunity presented to distinguish himself by any separate command until some years after. Preparatory to this, early in 1799, his flag as Vice-Admiral of the White was hoisted at the Nore, on board the *Zealand*

land of sixty-four guns, soon after which he removed to the *Is's* of fifty.

It being intended at this period to strike a blow on the continent, a number of transports were collected ; a large body of troops marched to the coast, and a squadron of men of war was provided under the immediate direction of the subject of this memoir ; although all the operations were conducted in the name of the gallant Lord Duncan, then Commander in Chief of the North Sea fleet.

As our naval successes, and military disasters in Holland, were intimately connected with the situation of that country, we trust we shall be excused for the following digression, intended to elucidate that subject :

The history of the Batavian nation is that of a hardy race of fishermen, who after combating and foiling the arms and the stratagems of a powerful monarchy, rendered themselves independent. Unable to find sustenance on the land, they sought for and obtained it in the ocean ; and Amsterdam, their capital, founded in a marsh, and supported by wooden piles, in a figurative point of view, may be fairly said to have been constructed “ of herring bones,” since it was to that humble fish, their liberty, and their industry, they became indebted for all their prosperity.

The family of Orange, which contributed not a little to the success of the long and bloody wars waged against Spain, then the greatest power in  
Europe,

Europe, rose with the state which it had assisted, and at length ranked and intermarried with the first princes of Europe. As every free government requires a balance, the De Witts, republicans alike from situation and principle, contended with those chiefs when they began to develope a towering ambition, and exhibit pretensions that bordered on monarchical institutions.

Notwithstanding the most powerful members of the state were averse to their pretensions, they yet found means to govern, through the influence of the populace ; and having at length overcome all opposition, they, as is too often the case, at once enjoyed and abused their good fortune.

But every prince was not capable of rivalling William III. ; and one of his successors, the fifth William, did not possess his energy or his talents. His attachment to England, a country in which one of his family had been invested with a crown, rendered him unpopular at home ; and this, added to certain pretensions unadvisedly broached, and but feebly sustained, produced a civil war, in which it was plainly seen that his party was not likely to triumph. In this extremity the intervention of Britain and of Prussia rescued him from distress, and rendered him more powerful than ever : but he forgot to convert his enemies into friends, and the remnants of the Louvestein party shook, but not overwhelmed, invited the assistance of France. England on this once more interposed her protection, and shielded him

him from danger ; for it was in consequence of her assistance that Dumouriez was defeated and Holland saved. But Pichegru, a more able, as well as a more fortunate general, found means to penetrate into that country, and all Europe beheld with dismay that Holland, which had resisted the arms of Philip II. when the most powerful prince on the continent, was obliged to yield to France, then in a state of confusion and disorganization.

Connected by a variety of commercial, as well as political relations, with this country, the British cabinet could not behold her ancient ally snatched from and employed as an engine against her, with indifference. The restoration of Holland to her former government and condition, became an object of no common importance, and it was resolved to attempt her enfranchisement from a foreign yoke by force of arms. The family of Orange, even in exile, possessed a multitude of partizans : some of her bitterest enemies now mourned the fate of their country, and the subjugation to a foreign nation of course rendered a multitude of the natives discontented. Her land forces too had all been officered either by the authority or influence of the Stadtholder ; while the greater part of her seamen and commanders were firmly and zealously attached to the person and family of his Serene Highness, formerly their Admiral-General.

A fleet and army were accordingly provided and fitted out, the latter under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the former  
under

under Vice-Admiral Mitchell, who was pitched upon, it is said, at the request of a member \* of the cabinet, who had conceived a high idea of his skill, prudence, and intrepidity. They were of course assisted upon this occasion by all the influence and authority of the House of Orange; † and it cannot be

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\* Right Honourable Henry Dundas, then Treasurer of the Navy, now Lord Melville.

† His Serene Highness the Prince, in a proclamation, dated “at Hampton Court, July 28, 1799,” informed his “dear countrymen, that the long-wished for moment had arrived when they were to be delivered from so many calamities. His Majesty the King of Great Britain,” said he, “moved by his affection and friendship towards the republic of the United Provinces, and pitying your misfortunes, has taken the generous resolution, as soon as the general circumstances of Europe would admit, to employ, in concert with his allies, vigorous measures for your deliverance.”

He stated that the troops sent to their assistance, did not repair as “enemies, but as friends and deliverers, in order to rescue them from the odious oppression under which they were kept by the French government, and to restore to them the enjoyment of their religion and their liberty; those invaluable blessings for which, with the Divine protection, they and their ancestors had fought and conquered.

“Hesitate not, therefore, brave inhabitants of the United Provinces,” added he, “to meet and assist your deliverers. Receive them among you as friends and protectors of the happiness and welfare of your country. Let every difference of political sentiment and opinions vanish before this great object. Do not suffer the spirit of party, or even the sense of the wrongs you have experienced, to induce you to commit any acts of revenge or persecution. Let your hearts and your hands be united to repel the common enemy, and to re-establish the liberty and independence of your common country.”

He

doubted, that on one element at least, it was not inconsiderable.

The moment his appointment was notified to him, Vice-Admiral Mitchell repaired on board the *Isis*, of fifty guns. He then visited those parts of the coast in which transports had been collected ; and partly by the zeal of the inhabitants, partly by the skill and assistance of the captains and officers of the sea-fencibles, embarked the different divisions of the army, towards the autumn of 1799, with inconceivable order and celerity. No sooner was this accomplished, than he proceeded to join Admiral Lord Duncan, then cruising in the North Seas.

In consequence of the lateness of the season, a series of tempestuous weather and contrary winds ensued, which had nearly put a period to the expedition. This circumstance proved peculiarly unfortunate, partly on account of the delay, and partly from the number of troops on board, so that as water began to be scarce, it was determined, if a landing had not been effected by a certain day, to abandon the enterprize, even although they had once got within sight of the coast.

At the expiration of a fortnight, however, the shore of the Helder was descried a second time, and the

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He concluded by notifying that in a short time " his dearly beloved son, who was in possession of all his confidence, and deserving of theirs, would put himself at their head, and following the steps of his illustrious ancestors, spare neither his property nor his life, in order to assist with them, and for their sakes, in bringing this great undertaking to a successful issue."

troops

troops disembarked; previously to which, Lord Duncan, as Commander in Chief, dispatched a letter to the Dutch Admiral Storey, then anchored at a short distance, stating “that he had now an opportunity of manifesting his zeal to the Prince of Orange, by declaring for him, together with all the ships that might follow his example.” But as the tide of success was at this moment uncertain, and victory appeared to be weighed in equal scales, the answer returned was such as might have been expected, viz. “that the enemy might expect a defence from him worthy of his nation and his honour.”\*

No sooner did prosperity dawn upon the English, than it was apparent that a considerable degree of disaffection prevailed on board the Dutch men of war. This was fully evinced on the evacuation of

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\* Notwithstanding this seeming determination, it was then supposed, nor have subsequent events given the lie to that suspicion, that this officer was attached to the cause and person of the Prince whose interests were espoused by Great Britain; although in the American war he had distinguished himself by his valour, during the well-fought action off the Dogger Bank, and acquired a high reputation both for his courage and his seamanship. On the conquest of Holland by the French, he was also one of the first to swear allegiance to the Batavian Republic, and hoisted his flag as a rear-admiral on board the *States General*, a seventy-four gun ship, during the engagement in which Admiral De Winter was defeated. His conduct, however, on the latter occasion, was said to be equivocal in the extreme; for although he commanded in the centre, yet he abandoned his superior officer with part of his division, soon after the commencement of the action, and actually made a merit of his conduct upon this occasion, as he ascribed to it alone the safety of part of the fleet.

the Helder,\* into which had been thrown a garrison of two thousand men, in consequence of its being menaced with an assault on the part of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. When the ships stationed before this important fortress withdrew to the Nieuve Diep, a secret communication having been previously opened with their commander, nine of them, together with three Indiamen, immediately surrendered.†

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\* In consequence of the meditated attack on this fortress, a detachment of British seamen was sent on shore to assist in dragging the artillery. The following anecdote relative to one of these, is well known to many of the officers who served in Holland :

A grenadier having dropped, Jack immediately started from his gun, and examining the body, declared he was a dead man ; and as he had belonged to the covering party that protected them, and consequently died in his defence, by G — he would take his place. He accordingly stripped off the belt, tied on the cartouch-box, and seizing the firelock, discharged his piece six different times, with such an unerring aim, as to wound six of the enemy. At length, as he was preparing for another shot, he himself received a ball through his knee-pan, and was carried on board the hospital-ship to have his leg amputated.

Soon after this operation, and while in a convalescent state, he was told by one of his officers that he would be tried for desertion, having left his post as a seaman, and acted as a soldier. " But," replied this brave unfortunate fellow, " I killed six of the enemy."—" That may be," rejoined the lieutenant ; " you, however, as you well know, flew from your quarters." .

" Egad, I never thought of that," said he, " but if his honour the captain will forgive me this once, I am determined to kill no more Frenchmen on land."

† Here follows a list of the Dutch men of war, &c. obtained upon this occasion.

		Guns
1. Urwachten,	- -	66

2. Bro-

Having readily obtained pilots, and all the necessary information at the Helder, Vice-Admiral Mitchell determined to sail in quest of the remainder of the squadron, which he threatened to follow "to the walls of Amsterdam." He, at the same time, conjured the officers and crews to avoid the effusion of human blood, by an immediate surrender, either to the British, or to the Prince of Orange, whose flag they would be permitted to bear.

To give greater effect to his proceedings, at five o'clock in the morning of August the 30th, he formed the following line of battle, by way of exhibiting the strength of the squadron under his command.

		Guns.	Men.
1. Glatton,	Capt. Charles Cobb,	54	343
2. Romney,	John Lawford,	50	343
3. Isis,	{ Vice-Admiral Mitchell, } { Capt. James Houghton, }	50	343
4. Veteran,	A. C. Dickson,	- 64	491
5. Ardent,	T. Bertie,	- 64	491
6. Bellicieux,	R. Bulteel,	- 64	491

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	Guns.
2. Broderschap,	- 54
3. Expedition,	- 54
4. La Belle Antoinette,	- 44
5. Unie,	- 44
6. Helder,	- 32
7. Follock,	- 24
8. Venus,	- 24
9. Alarm,	- 24

## INDIAMEN.

1. Howda. 2. Vriedlust. 3. Dieighlerlahn.

7. Monmouth,

		Guns.	Men.
7. Monmouth,	George Hart,	- 64	491
8. Overysse,	J. Bazeley,	- 64	491
9. Mistisloff,	A. Moller,	- 66	672

## FRIGATES.

1. Melpomene	4. Juno
2. Latona	5. Lutine.
3. Shannon	

A signal for action having been hoisted, the English Vice-Admiral set sail ; but two ships and a frigate, in consequence of the intricacy of the navigation, got aground. Notwithstanding this, he entered the Mars Diep, and continued his course in the Vleiter Channel along the Texel. Having by this time drawn near to the Dutch fleet, then at anchor at the Red Buoy, he dispatched Captain Reinnie with the following letter, containing a peremptory summons :

“ Isis, under sail, in line of battle,

“ Sir, August 30th.

“ I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange. If you do, you will be immediately considered friends of the King of Great Britain, my most gracious sovereign ; otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it may occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) “ ANDREW MITCHELL,

“ To Rear-Admiral Storey, or  
the Commander in Chief of  
the Dutch squadron.”

Vice-Admiral, and Com-  
mander of his Majesty’s  
ships employed on the  
present expedition.”

The

The following is a copy of the answer received :

“ On board the Washington, anchored under

“ ADMIRAL, the Vleiter, 30th August.

“ Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood shall be laid to my account, could prevent my shewing to you, to the last moment, what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and its representatives ; but, unfortunately, your prince's and the Orange flags have obtained their end.

“ The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight ; and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage, and the dreadful reflection of our present situation : I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded. From this moment an obligation lies on you to provide for the safety of my officers and the few brave men who are on board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

“ I am with respect,

“ To Admiral MITCHELL, commanding “ S. STOREY.”  
his Britannic Majesty's squadron in the Texel.”

Two officers, who had been intrusted with this dispatch, earnestly entreated the English commander to anchor within sight of the enemy ; and that being complied with, the fleet, which had been for some time in a state of mutiny, surrendered. This important acquisition consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, four of sixty-eight, two of fifty-four, two of forty-four guns, a frigate, and a sloop of war ; in all eleven sail.

Such a loss by sea could scarcely be compensated by any success on land ; but to add to their misfortunes, the Dutch forces, at the same time, were obliged to retreat with the same rapidity that the English advanced. On the arrival, however, of Ge-

neral Brune with a considerable body of troops, a new spirit was infused into this torpid people, and “the shades of Van Tromp, De Wit, De Ruyter, and Barneveld, were invoked (and, unhappily, not invoked in vain) to burst through their sacred tombs, and denounce death against all those who were traitors to their country !”

Notwithstanding the repeated successes of the English, a period was put to their career at Baccum; less indeed on account of any check sustained during that day, than in consequence of the unfavourable state of the country, for the enemy now occupied an inexpugnable position at Purmirind, and were so admirably posted, as to be able to act on the rear of the advancing army. A negociation therefore ensued, during the course of which it was urged, that the Batavian fleet, acquired by the bravery and good conduct of Vice-Admiral Mitchell, should be restored; but this was resisted by the Duke of York, who spurned at the proposal, and threatened, in case of necessity, to cut down the sea dykes, which would have inundated the country, and destroyed its fertility. Terms far more adequate were accordingly obtained, and the Dutch fleet \* was, in the mean

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\* The naval part of the expedition into Holland proved so complete, that the marine of that power may now be fairly considered as annihilated. The following fourteen ships of the line alone remained, after the capture of the squadron at the Helder, in 1799:

AT AMSTERDAM.

- |                    |           |    |                  |
|--------------------|-----------|----|------------------|
| 1. Avenger         | - - - - - | 76 | Capt. S. Dekker. |
| 2. Admiral Zoutman | - - -     | 76 | — Zugers.        |
| 3. Chatham         |           |    |                  |

time, conducted by Admiral Mitchell into an English port, under the escort of six sail of British, and two Russian ships of the line, Admiral Dickson having been left behind, to superintend the embarkation of the troops. Soon after his arrival in England, his Majesty, as a distinguished mark of his satisfaction with the conduct of the officer who had won the only trophy obtained during this expedition, was pleased to confer upon him the ensigns of the order of the Bath.

In 1800 we find Sir Andrew in the Channel fleet, under Admiral Lord Bridport, with his flag flying in the Windsor Castle of 98 guns; he afterwards served under Admiral Cornwallis, off Brest, but no circumstance occurred for the display of either his courage or conduct. Yet upon this, as on every other occasion, he had an opportunity of rendering every one on board happy. Although he well knew how to keep up a proper degree of subordination, he lived with

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3. Chatham	- - - - -	76	Capt. Hartsink.
4. Bato	- - - - -	76	{ M. C. B. Van. Capt. Treslong.
5. Vermekker	- - - - -	68	
6. Keisteller	- - - - -	68	— Staring.

## IN THE MEUSE.

7. Brutus	- - - - -	76	— Vendoorn.
8. Barnevelt	- - - - -	68	— Clarisse.
9. Neptunus	- - - - -	68	— Kraft.
10. Revolution	- - - - -	68	— Everts.
11. Doggerbank	- - - - -	68	— Lancaster.
12. Pictor Paulus	- - - - -	68	— Holland.
13. Karlanaer	- - - - -	68	— Wiggerts.
And 14. De Witt	- - - - -	68	— Woollerbeck.

his officers in the same manner as a father among his children; and when obliged to part with them—for several gentlemen educated on his quarter-deck are at this moment Post-Captains—he could scarcely refrain from tears. Being fond of music, he was provided with an excellent band; and all the officers, not on duty, were accustomed to assemble every evening in the great cabin, to enjoy the concert provided for them.

In the autumn of the succeeding year,\* he was intrusted with the command of a division of fifteen

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\* Squadron ordered to Bantry Bay, in November 1801, under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
1. Windsor Castle	98	{ Vice-Ad. Sir A. Mitchell, K.B. Capt. J. Oughton.
2. Barfleur	98	{ Rear Adm. C. Collingwood. Capt. J. A. Omanney.
3. Temeraire	98	{ Rear Ad. Sir Eras. Gower, Kt. Capt. D. Atkins.
4. Formidable	98	— Grindall.
5. Atlas	98	— T. Jones.
6. Glory	98	— T. Wells.
7. Namur	90	— Hon. M. de Courcy.
8. Juste	84	— Sir Edw. Nagle.
9. Malta	84	— Albemarle Bertie.
10. Achille	74	— J. Wallis.
11. Centaur	74	— B. Littlehales.
12. Majestic	74	— D. Gould.
13. Revolution	74	— Hon. A. H. Gardner.
14. Vengeance	74	— George Duff.
15. Orion	74	— M. Cuthbert.
16. Amethyst	38	— H. R. Glynn.
17. Fisgard	40	— M. Seymour.

sail

sail of the line, with which he cruized off the coast of Ireland; and at length, in 1802, was appointed commander in chief in North America, with which appointment he repaired to Halifax in the *Leander*, of 50 guns.

While on this station he has lost his wife, Lady Mitchell, who had been sent to Bermuda for the benefit of her health, and died there in 1803. He was also in imminent danger of losing one of his children, his eldest son having been severely wounded during the gallant action between the *Cleopatra*, Captain Sir Robert Lawrie, Bart. and *la Ville de Milan* \*.

As the usual period of three years is now elapsed, the arrival of the gallant Vice-Admiral is impatiently expected by his friends in England.

The following is a list of his various promotions :

He was appointed a Captain, Oct. 25, 1778;

A Rear-Admiral, June 1, 1795;

A Vice-Admiral of the White, Feb. 14, 1799;

And a Vice-Admiral of the Red, in 1799.

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### MADAME D'ARBLAY.

MADAME d'Arblay, the subject of this biographical Sketch, is the daughter of Doctor Burney,

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\* Mr. Mitchell was then only a Midshipman in the navy; but on this occasion he served as acting Lieutenant on board the *Cleopatra* of 32 guns, which was captured on the 16th of February, 1805, by a French 50 gun ship, after a most severe action, in which she had all her rigging, &c. cut to pieces.

the eminent professor and historian of music. This gentleman is not more admired on account of his abilities in a science, which universally engages enthusiastic attention, than he is esteemed as a faithful friend, a prudent counsellor, and an amiable companion. Perhaps this charming union of fine qualities, being continually before the eyes of the meditative Frances, (the heroine of this memoir,) might, in the course of her reflections, suggest the character of the Reverend Mr. Tyrold!—Persons who know the one, and have read the description of the other, cannot fail to recognize the likeness, and to acknowledge, that while the works of his daughter shall have a place in the libraries of his country, Doctor Burney will need no other monument of his talents and virtues.

All the children of this worthy and accomplished man, have reflected honour on their parent ; but the lady, whose intellectual plan of life we are now going to unfold, was justly the most admired : and if the compliment be thought very high, which tells a woman that she is “ fairest, where all are fair !” the declaration of the merit of Miss Burney is not *faint praise*, which names her “ most admirable, where all have been admired.”

Doctor Burney sought, by every inducement of persuasion and example, to lead all his children towards those studious pursuits which were consonant with the strain of his own mind ; but he found that no stress was necessary to turn the attention and labours of his daughter Frances, into that track : “ *Song* was  
her

her favourite, and her first *desire*;" and while the employment of her life was a search after wisdom,

———"Whate'er of beautiful, or new,  
 Sublime, or dreadful, in earth, sea, or sky,  
 By chance, or search, was offer'd to *her* view,  
 She scann'd with curious, and romantic eye.  
 Whate'er of lore, tradition could supply  
 From Gothic tale, or song, or fable old,  
 Rous'd *her* still keen, to listen and to pry."

Her infancy, though adorned with the usual ornaments of female education; a dexterity in managing the needle and the pencil; was devoted, like that of the young Edwin of Beattie, to the acquirement of the nobler decorations of science and philosophy. As the Doctor, who directed her studies, saw the wide field in which he had to move, he did not attempt to circumscribe the excursions of his pupil's mind. He allowed her to range at large through the momentous defiles, and tremendous heights of history. He did not restrain her, when her adventurous spirit sought the more daring and trackless regions of romance. She possessed a solid understanding, as well as an excursive fancy; and when the bird flew abroad into the wilderness of fable, her careful guardian knew that she remembered where the olive grew, and that she would return, to again sip with him from the fountain of truth.

Her library presented to the eye, a visible picture of those visionary scenes which poets tell of, when they describe that elysium in which the *great ones* of all times, parties, and talents, will be friends and

contemporaries. Even the heroes of the imagination presumed to mingle with those of reality, and to wear a local habitation, as well as a name. Cæsar, Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and the Czar Peter, peaceably occupied the same shelf. Sir Charles Grandison, and the Vicar of Wakefield, flanked those famous soldiers ; while Plutarch's Heroes and *La Belle Assemblée*, were ranged rank and file, without shewing any signs of hostility. Here stood Turenne, Condé, and Montmorency, with the Duke of Marlborough, and his warriors of Blenheim ; and there, in opposite array, in "panoply of gold and scarlet," were marshalled the daring fronts of Oroondates, Don Quixote, and his redoubted prototypes of *the round table*. Kings, knights, esquires ; sages, poets, philosophers ; lords, ladies, and country damsels ; were all, in their forms, as they are shaped by the chisel of the imagination, placed on equal, and quiet ground, within the "green retirement" of the fair student.

Such various subjects of investigation, produced great variety in the mind of Miss Burney ; and very much promoted that facility in composition, that proteus-like versatility of fancy, which now constitute the charm of her works. Her own innate genius was assisted in the task of refining its judgment, by a close intimacy with the best authors, and the most approved critics : and by this proceeding, as well as by a respectful deference, which she paid to the opinion of her father, the young Frances acquired that early and perfect taste, which was the astonish-  
ment

ment of her friends, and is now the admiration of the public.

Notwithstanding this general approbation, she did not betray any signs of being inflated with consciousness of worth; no vanity seemed to whisper to her, that she was superior to others; and that there would be delight in displaying her triumph. On the contrary, she rather avoided than sought that society, which would have hailed her with eagerness, and loaded her with applause. The timidity of her nature shrunk from crowds; and even small circles (unless formed of intimate acquaintance), were too oppressive, and demanded from her a greater exertion of spirits than her retired habits would allow her to summon for the occasion. Her home, and her library, were central attractions which bound her to themselves. She had read enough of the world to persuade her to relinquish all desire of seeing it; and she thought that a modern fine lady, and even a modern beau, whether titled or of "humbler note," were poor exchanges, to be accepted in lieu of the Worthies of Greece, of Rome, and of Old England.

She was herself almost an EVELINA in actual acquaintance with mankind, when, for a private reason, which reflects the highest honour upon her heart and domestic affections, she produced that justly admired novel. It was written and published unknown to her father; who, having occasion to visit the metropolis soon after its issue from the press, heard nothing else spoken of. Indeed the applause was so general, that his curiosity was excited to see  
what

what all the world praised; and resolving to treat his family with so fashionable a feast, he made a purchase of the book.

When the business which had carried him to town was completed, he returned to Chessington, (a fine old mansion, then inhabited by Mr. Crisp,) where his children were upon a visit. With them, and their worthy host, he proposed reading the far-famed adventures of Evelina.

It was in the rural precincts of Chessington-Hall, that the early genius of Miss Burney first tried its strength. It was there that the seducing form of romance (that lovely daughter of imagination) rose to the sight of the youthful enchantress. The vision passed in ethereal beauty before her eyes; and myrtles, and roses, and over-shadowing clematis, formed the theatre in which the magic scene was performed.

When Doctor Burney dismounted and entered the parlour, the customary question of "What news?" being rapidly addressed to him, by the several personages of the little party, he replied, drawing a volume out of his pocket, "Nothing new has happened, but a great noise about a novel, which I have brought to you; and which seems to have turned all the people's heads, for they cannot talk of any thing else."

While the book was impatiently received, and the title read, the surprised and conscious Miss Burney turned away her face to conceal the blushes and delighted confusion, which otherwise would have betrayed

trayed her secret. But the bustle which usually accompanies the arrival of any dear friend, (and particularly in the country, where the monotonous, but peaceful, tenor of the hours, is agreeably disturbed by such a change) prevented the curious and happy group from observing the agitation of their sister. After dinner, Mr. Crisp proposed that the book should be read. Miss Burney had now recovered herself; and the good Doctor, smiling, and rubbing his hands, gave the word of command.

The acclamations which followed the closing of the last volume, ratified the approbation of the public. The amiable author looked from side to side, and overcome by the delicious feelings which rushed upon her heart, she burst into tears, and throwing her arms about her father's neck, avowed herself to be the writer of *Evelina*. The astonishment and pleasure of Doctor Burney were nearly upon a par: he could scarcely credit his senses. Intelligent as he knew his daughter to be, he had formed no conception that such maturity of observation, fancy, judgment, and style, could have been displayed by a girl of seventeen; by one, who appeared to the outward eye, a mere infant in artlessness and inexperience; and whose deep seclusion from the world had shut her out from all visual knowledge of its ways. But the proof shewed a different conclusion. Though bred a simple country girl, and apparently little beyond a child in discernment; yet nature had taught her own scholar, and gave to her morning of  
life

life a proficiency in the art of composition, which few attain at the noon, or even at the close.

There is nothing more mistaken, than the degree of estimation in which novel writers ought to be held. It is fashionable to treat them with contempt; to suppose that very little talent or attention is requisite to "scribble a love-story." Any bankrupt milliner, strolling actress, or indigent kept mistress, thinks herself competent to this task; and novel after novel, teeming with conceit, affectation, extravagance, and immorality, is disgorged from the press. Thus, the common opinion introduces its necessary consequence; and what is deemed too unworthy for care, is soon prostituted to the worst purposes. The avenues which bring an easy experience to adolescence, are left open for the idle and the profligate to enter; and no wonder, when the lessons of the governess are succeeded, and defaced, by the precepts of the circulating library, that the next accounts which we receive of the pupil, arrive either from *Gretna Green*, or *Doctors Commons*.

Purity of mind, and enthusiasm in the cause of virtue, as well as an accurate knowledge of human nature, are indispensable requisites in the formation of a writer, who undertakes to guide the actions of youth. A mere detail of current events, though they may be drawn from facts, seldom produces any thing but languor and distaste. They want that *Promethean fire*, which imparts something like the principle of life, to the mimic assembly; the ethereal spirit,

spirit, which constitutes the essence of genius, must be breathed into the work, before the inanimate clay can bear any true resemblance to the "human form divine."

Richardson's matchless volumes, are entirely filled with this penetrating fluid; this light of the mind; these rays of the mental sun; without which, all would be "stale, flat, and unprofitable."

Fielding too lighted his censer at the same altar; but like the sons of Eli, he polluted the sacred element with a mixture of profane fire; and though it still continues to burn, its quality and effects are changed; for, instead of illuminating the path of youth, it betrays them to error, and consumes all the stays of virtue, which might have checked them in their fall. That gay libertine Tom Jones, and the licentious Booth, his successor, are not more seductive by their examples, than the ridicule cast upon the continence of Joseph Andrews, is destructive of the finest bloom of morality.

Smollet was still worse in his characters; but they are of too sordid a stamp to attract *admiration*,—that dangerous *ignis fatuus*, which, when united with bad qualities, shines but to destroy. Many (otherwise delicate) women, have been lavish in proclaiming their "delight in the spirit, gallantries, and adventures of Tom Jones;" and by so doing, they have misled young men (who love the smiles of the fair) to tread in his footsteps. But I believe that few, or none, excepting the lowest of their sex, ever wasted a word of encomium upon the grovelling, and  
vulgar

vulgar passions of Roderick Random, and Peregrine Pickle.

The characters of the personages in Miss Burney's novels, are all distinguished by the virtues; for those which stand "proudly eminent," and for those which "downcast modesty conceals." Henry Mackensie, the author of the *Man of Feeling*, preceded our fair writer in her march to the shrine of Richardson. Like their great master, they both made fiction a teacher of truth; and in this useful labour they are assisted by Augustus La Fontaine, Madame de Genlis, Lady E. Butler, Mrs. West; and several of our ingenious countrywomen, who are not less worthy of praise.

So great was the success of *Evelina*, that it went through four editions in one year; and brought the author into such repute, that her acquaintance was sought by some of the most illustrious characters in England. Doctor Samuel Johnson was one of her first, and it may be presumed, one of her most beneficial friends. With this great and good man, she spent many a literary hour, and imbibed from his conversation and example, instruction, emulation, and all the qualities likely to produce fame. Her own acknowledged talents, when sanctioned by the approval and applause of so eminent a critic, were stamped with current value; and every rank of society received her visits with delight.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, who is called the "Father of the British School of Painting," was one of the earliest to single her out as an object of distinguished esteem;

esteem ; while Edmund Burke, who was himself, not only the analyser of the sublime and beautiful, but, like Longinus, could shew in his own writings the finest models of that “sublimity and beauty which he drew,” proved one of Miss Burney’s most intimate acquaintance.

It was in such society, that she learned to make those observations, which led her to write the novel of *CECILIA* (which is generally regarded as the best of her works,) with such precision of character, discernment into human nature, and power over the sympathies of her readers.

Some time before the publication of *Cecilia*, Miss Burney had been honoured with the Royal notice. The Queen of England attended so graciously to the numerous accounts, which were brought to the palace, of the fair author’s genius, and amiable qualities, that she desired to see her. Miss Burney obeyed ; and her Majesty, finding that the description was transcended by the reality, appointed her to an office, which would detain her almost constantly, during the hours of retirement, in the royal presence.

This situation, and the celebrity of *Cecilia*, whose quickly succeeding editions poured from the press, gained her so many friends among people of fashion, that it would not be fair to single out any, where there were so numerous a throng, ready to prove their right to the title. But the scenes of high life, its pursuits, and amusements, were of too dissipated and fatiguing a kind, to suit either with the taste, or  
the

the constitution of Miss Burney. Though she was “fitted” by person, education, and manners, “to shine in courts;” she preferred the humble lot of walking in “the shade, with innocence and contemplation joined.” Her health became delicate, and she resigned her place at St. James’s, to the great regret of her London acquaintances.

The conversation of celebrated writers is, by some *very good sort of people*, not half so much valued, as the *fashion* of having them at their house. Distinguished persons, whether they be so by one way of acquiring fame or another, are always pursued, invited, and caressed (their intrinsic merit being entirely out of the question); and to have an eminent author, a renowned general, or a victorious admiral, at a party (notwithstanding the envy of all present, and the host at the head of them) is looked upon as a great achievement, a charming attraction, and the finishing stroke to the taste and novelty of the evening. To speak in the language of these inviters, and their dissipated guests, “celebrated people are a sort of lions that folks like to stare at; and when they are present, one has always something to look for, and to hear, that is out of the common.”

The “enshrined” author of *Evelina* retired from a gay crowd of her votaries, and secluded herself, far from them and the metropolis, among the simple cottagers, and rural plains of Surry. But though she retreated from pleasure, her abode was the home of happiness: retirement was her choice, not solitude;  
and

and there she enjoyed in its sweetest shape, that lovely plan of life, which she makes the lover of Camilla so pathetically adopt, and address to his mistress.

Oh, speak the joy! ye, whom the sudden tear  
Surprises often, while you look around,  
And nothing strikes your eye but sights of bliss,  
All various nature pressing on the heart :  
An elegant sufficiency, content,  
Retirement, rural quiet, friendship, books,  
Ease and alternate labour, useful life,  
Progressive virtue, and approving Heaven !

She again visited Chessington, which was at that time inhabited by a little amiable circle of ladies, Mr. Crisp, the former possessor, having been some time dead. It was in those groves, that the fair writer first felt the inspiring touch of the muse. It was in those groves that the fair describer of Love first felt his power over herself.

Monsieur d'Arblay, a French gentleman of family, who was obliged to leave his country, (during the horrors of the late revolution,) and who came over to England, with other emigrants of rank, paid a visit to Chessington. His residence was in the neighbourhood; and such a circumstance was too favourable to the wishes of all parties, to be neglected. The hostess of Miss Burney, and the ladies who were her inmates, were women of sense, and knew how to value the society of a man whose very extraordinary talents were transcended by the super-eminent qualities of his heart. His manners were composed; his deportment dignified; while his features bore those deep traces of sorrow, which even the sublimest re-

signation cannot erase from the care-worn countenance. Monsieur d'Arblay had suffered severely : he felt as a man, for he was human ; but he endured like a being of a superior nature, for he was a Christian. The shield of faith is the only armour that is impenetrable ; and its panoply is sufficient to turn the darts of all the world. The pupil of Cato *frowns* his sensibility into subjection : the scholar of Christ *smiles* while his bosom bleeds, and finds that the wounds close at the moment that the sign of cheerfulness plays upon his lips.

The situation, the character, and the daily conduct of the interesting emigrant, made their due impressions on the mind of Miss Burney. Love wooed her in the shape of virtue ; and her heart was lost, before she was aware that she did more than pity his unfortunate destiny. The sympathies of souls truly pure, are soon reciprocally comprehended. Monsieur d'Arblay saw in the amiable woman, who could invent such lovely characters as Evelina and Cecilia, all those attractive and endearing properties, which were the latent models of her two beautiful images of female perfection.

Miss Burney was too ingenuous to keep an amiable man long in suspense ; and too generous to weigh wealth against worth and affection. She married him. As their fortune was but small, they took up their residence in a neat little cottage near the village of Bookham, upon the estate of Mr. Locke, in Surry. Mr. Locke and his family (so justly celebrated for their talents and virtues) were the warm  
friends

friends of the now Madame d'Arblay. She, and her estimable husband, often exchanged their rustic retreat for the arcades of Norbury, and the classic shades of its park.

Walking, music, and reading, were the alternate amusements of that charming abode of the domestic graces. While the united instruments of the gentlemen formed a charming concert, or Madame d'Arblay entertained the groupe by her inimitable reading; the ladies of the family occupied their hands in fancy works, such as card-cases, pocket-books, &c. These articles were collected at the end of the year, and sold in a booth of their own at Leatherhead fair, for the benefit of the poor. This truly serviceable mode of charity, is very productive; and by the gradual gathering of a few shillings, the fund increases until many pounds are accumulated. Several hundreds have already been given away; and thus the hungry have been fed, and the naked clothed, by the produce of those hours of leisure which most women waste in idleness, or devote to folly and mischief. This charming plan of making pastime the hand-maid of benevolence, has of late been adopted by the ladies of two or three villages in the vicinity of London; and Madame d'Arblay, and the Misses Locke, have the pleasure of seeing that their lovely example excites imitation as well as applause.

It was in this family of worth and ability, that our authoress found models for the amiable characters which animate the pages of Camilla; her longest and last novel. During the intervals which separated the

periods of her visits to Norbury, she dedicated her morning hours to the composition of that fine "Picture of Youth," which, if contemplated with proper attention and deference, would shew to the novice the dangerous ways of the world, as well as how to find the path of safety.

Sir Hugh Tyrold is one of the most interesting specimens of natural goodness that ever was portrayed by the pen. He may be considered as a third brother to those artless and endearing creatures of the fancy and the heart, which shine in the pages of Addison, and lighten through the volumes of Sterne. Sir Hugh Tyrold, Sir Roger de Coverley, and Uncle Toby, might be drawn in one picture, as an almost matchless triumvirate of charity; to which no author has yet added a fourth.

Indiana Lynmere (*Lynmere!* I wish Madame d'Arblay would select better names; those which she has chosen for all her characters are so little known, so much like fabrication, if they be not so, that they hurt the illusion of the story). But to return. Indiana Lynmere is an exquisite statue; Eugenia, a legitimate niece of the benevolent Sir Hugh; and Camilla, the most fascinating of mortals. In point of charms, she far exceeds the characters of Evelina and Cecilia, although the style and arrangement of those works are more generally admired than the history of our favourite Camilla.

The subordinate personages of the book, are just sketches of those *ephemeral* beings who are brought into light by the sun of fashion; and, as it rises, or sets,

sets, advance into view, or sink into shadow and oblivion. All people who move in the higher circles of society, must have met with Mrs. Arlberries, Mrs. Burlingtons, Sir Sedley Clarendels, and the whole host of tonish loungers, eccentric triflers, and remorseless preyers upon the time, fortune, and peace, of the unlucky dupes who fall in their way. These are to be found every where in the garden of folly; and if the accomplished writer did not lead us through its avenues to the more delightful bowers of propriety, wisdom, and domestic love, we should lament that she had introduced us at all to such a tribe of coquettes and coxcombs.

The publication of *Camilla*, which was favoured with one of the largest subscriptions that ever preceded the title-page of any book, brought a golden wreath to adorn the brows of its amiable author. It is seldom that literary genius meets with such weighty encouragement in this country. Fame is very liberal in her tribute; but it is merely "words, words, words!" She was, long ago, deserted by that spirit of munificence, which, in former ages, used to dedicate the gilded tripod, and the glittering casket, in the temple of Apollo. An *Io pæan* is all that is now devoted either to the god, or to the priests of his shrine.

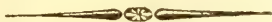
Besides the novels already mentioned, Madame d'Arblay wrote a tragedy, called *Edwy and Elgiva*. It was brought out at Drury Lane Theatre, and met with as hard a fate as that which becal its hero and heroine, nearly a thousand years ago. It did not

survive the first night of representation ; and yet there was much interest in the plot, while the language was elegant and impressive. The faults seemed to lie in the protraction of the ecclesiastical debates, and the excessive length of the speeches ; which errors rendered the display of passion rather a *description* than an *imitation* of its effects. Mrs. Siddons looked lovely in the character of Elgiva ; and John Palmer could not have been excelled in the stern and haughty Dunstan.

After the publication of *Camilla*, Madame d'Arblay and her husband remained for a considerable time at their cottage in Surry. Contented with her lot, and grateful to that Providence which had cast it in the vale of life, where storms seldom rage, and envy will not deign to enter to disturb its calm, she enjoyed with temperance and satisfaction the endearing tenor of her days. Thus did month a'ter month, and year after year, glide gently over her head. But Monsieur d'Arblay longed to revisit his country ; his patriot spirit " yearned for his buried home ;" and when peace was last proclaimed between England and France, he proposed to his wife a journey to the continent. His wishes were commands to her, whose happiness was entirely comprised in his ; and after a short time spent in the usual preparations, separations, condolences, and promises of return, they set out for France.

They are now there ; and, however affectionate was the welcome which the amiable pair met from the friends of Monsieur d'Arblay ; however honour-  
able

able to his wife, who was hailed with ardour by those of his countrymen, who knew how to appreciate British talents and virtues ; England must still regret, that so fair a flower of her own growth is transplanted to a soil which is filled by her enemies.



## SIR CHARLES MORICE POLE, BART.

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE ; AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR INQUIRING INTO THE ABUSES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, AND OTHER BRANCHES OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

THE immensity of our national debt has long been a fruitful source of declamation, and at times engendered doubts, and even despair. At first, like most other evils, it assumed an aspect which apparently afforded but little cause for future dread, and foreboded few or none of those dangers that have since been prognosticated. The continental wars that arose out of the establishment of William III. on the English throne, introduced, and indeed seemed to justify, the adoption of the *funding system* ; a new project in finance borrowed immediately from Holland, but originating in Italy. By means of this our progenitors were enabled to draw a bill of exchange upon posterity, which their descendants have duly honoured ; and it must be allowed, that the influx of wealth, from a peaceful commerce, has hitherto enabled the nation to bear up against the pressure of accumulating taxes, and in some measure

rendered the resources of England equal to all her exigencies.

But at times the increase of fiscal regulations has been so sudden and so enormous, as to overleap the bounds of sober calculation, and in a certain degree embarrass, if not to defeat, the plans of those who have presided in succession at the Exchequer Board. It is a melancholy consideration, also, that the continual jealousy and rivalry of two neighbouring nations should have produced such mighty evils to both; although it be some consolation, that while the people of France, groaning under the despotism formerly of a king, and now of an emperor, have become impoverished by the struggle, we have experienced a far less degree of hardship, and risen superior to all our misfortunes, by means of that energy which springs out of an happy union of commerce and liberty.

In former times, a campaign either by sea or land was decided by a battle, often incomplete in itself, and for which both parties not unfrequently returned thanks to Heaven. An engagement in Germany, a fight off Cape la Hogue, and the capture of two or three colonies appertaining to the enemy, were the chief, and indeed the only events of a war. Fifteen or twenty millions were then funded, a few trifling taxes were imposed, and half a score of agents and contractors acquired splendid fortunes. In the mean time a salutary dread of future accumulation was deeply impressed on the minds of our ministers; and one of our ablest\* historians actually prophesied, that

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\* Hume,

the national debt could never exceed the sum of one hundred millions. He himself, however, lived long enough to be able to falsify his own prediction ; and we find him at length coming boldly forward, and frankly confessing, “ that public credit was a plant of a hardier kind than he had imagined.”

The contest with America formed a new epoch in the history of finance, and proved a most fruitful source of debt and abuse. The war soon proved unpopular, and the minister was at length abhorred. To obtain support, and multiply adherents, it became necessary to gratify them : an enormous expenditure readily afforded the means. Nothing was more easy, at that period, than to purchase the services of numbers by means of a profitable loan, or to enrich a favoured individual all at once through the medium of an advantageous contract. Under the covert of this species of protection, almost every engagement with the public degenerated into a job ; inquiry in such circumstances became difficult, and detection was almost impossible.

Towards the conclusion of hostilities, the prime minister of the present day, with all the energy of youth, and all the severity of conscious virtue, stood forward as an advocate for reform, and declaimed, in the name of the nation, against a variety of gross abuses.\* During the late war, when the expenditure

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\* The sum charged for altering the house of the first Lord of the Treasury, in Downing-street, now inhabited by Mr. Pitt himself, was enormous ; and that gentleman animadverted with no small degree of severity, on an extraordinary *item*, in a bill of one  
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frequently exceeded one million a week, new means, and new facilities of course, presented themselves in every department, to such as were inclined to profit by the opportunity. A distinguished lawyer of the present day, who holds one of the highest juridical employments in this country, while alluding to the frauds practised against the state, expressed a doubt whether it could survive, unless “ it were possible for it to renovate under the beaks of vultures ;” while a gentleman, \* who lately acted as a commissioner at one of our great boards, maintained openly in parliament, that such were the peculations practised in the navy, “ that out of every three guineas expended in that department, one was lost to the public by peculation !”

It appears evident, then, that a strict and rigorous investigation into abuses of every kind, has become eminently necessary. It is scarcely possible to conceive, that a debt of so many hundred millions could have possibly accrued without fraud, and without criminality. Recent circumstances have indeed proved that this is not a conjectural charge ; for doubts have been at length clothed with the garb of authority, and suspicions so far realised as to have become the subject of accusation.

To detect public delinquents, to expose their guilt, to make them refund their ill gotten wealth,

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of the public offices : it respected the article of *whipcord*, the expenditure for which might have furnished a ship of the line with a cable !

\* Admiral Markham.

and

and to prevent the repetition of similar speculation, was a task reserved for a late administration, and in this point of view, the subject of these memoirs is entitled to no common share of praise.

Sir Charles Morice Pole is a native of Devonshire. The Poles of Wolverton in Hampshire, his paternal ancestors, came originally from the Continent. They formerly resided at Nimeguen, in the province of Guelderland ; and repaired, like a number of other respectable families, to this country, soon after that auspicious revolution which seated a stadtholder of Holland on the throne of England. The family name was afterwards changed in consequence of a marriage with Miss Pole, a Lancashire heiress ; and that of Morice was conferred, and has since been continued, in memory of an alliance with the daughter of Sir William Morice, Knight, who for some time enjoyed the office of secretary of state during a former reign.

Charles Morice was born at the house of his father, Reginald Pole, Esq. of Stoke Damarell, January 18, 1757 ; his mother was a Miss Buller, of an opulent Cornish family, which possesses considerable estates, and no small degree of political influence in the duchy, as well as the adjoining county of Devon.

As there were several children, it was determined to breed Charles to the sea, and the better to qualify him for that profession he was sent to the Royal Academy at Portsmouth. This is a most excellent institution ; by means of which young men have not only the operations of a great naval arsenal constantly,

stantly, and a large portion of the channel fleet occasionally before their eyes, but are enabled, by a knowledge of mathematics in all its branches, to take an altitude and keep a ship's reckoning before they enter into actual service. It is to be lamented greatly indeed, that primary schools for this, which may be deemed a *national pursuit*, are not formed at all our sea ports. Every possible facility should be presented to the student, and every object that comes under his inspection should be taught to assume the appearance of real life. It is only on, or in the immediate vicinity of the ocean, that *seamanship* can be learned; and we have often beheld with indignation fresh-water sailors pretending to teach boys to steer, hand, and reef, on board a miserable barge moored in a back garden, and made to turn round on an axis!

When he was sixteen years of age, young Pole was sent to sea as a midshipman, with Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir Edward Vernon, whom he accompanied to the East Indies. While there, in the capacity of a lieutenant, to which he was promoted on that station, he witnessed, and was engaged in several of the severe but indecisive actions fought between the Bailli de Suffrein on one side, and Admiral Sir Edward Hughes on the other. Happening to be on board of one of the men of war employed at the siege of Pondicherry, Lieutenant Pole was entrusted with the command of a body of seamen, who were landed on purpose to assist in the operations against the capital of the French settlements on the continent of Asia; and having soon after received the rank of  
master

master and commander, he was sent home in the *Cormorant* sloop of war, with the Admiral's dispatches, containing an account of the surrender of the important fortress alluded to above.

This was a high compliment to Captain Pole, who, as the bearer of such joyful intelligence, became entitled to the usual present of a purse containing five hundred guineas, and what proved, doubtless, far more valuable in his eyes, he had a claim, according to the usage of the service, to future patronage and promotion. Nor were these wanting; for in the spring of 1779 he obtained the envied rank of Post-Captain, without which a young officer may become grey-headed at the top of the commanders, and never have the most distant expectation of a flag.

The subject of this memoir now began to be considered a man of talents and enterprize. As a convincing proof of this, it is only necessary to observe, that on the promotion of Rear-admiral Darby of the white to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, with the post of second in command in the channel fleet, then under the orders of the late Sir Charles Hardy, he selected him for his captain.

Towards the latter end of the American war we find Captain Pole on board a fine but small vessel, called the *Success*, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men; in which, while convoying a store-ship to Gibraltar, he engaged and took the largest frigate in the service of Spain, called the *Santa Catalina*, commanded by Don Miguel Jacon, mounting thirty-four guns and about three hundred

dred men.\* In this action much bravery and seamanship were evidently displayed ; and what rendered

\* Copy of a Letter from Captain Pole, of his Majesty's ship the *Success*, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, to Philip Stephens, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty.

" SIR,

Spithead, March 30, 1782.

" I have the honour to desire you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 16th instant, at daylight, in lat. 35, 40 N. Cape Spartel bearing E. N. E. eighteen leagues, the wind at S. W. standing for the Gut with the *Vernon* store-ship, we discovered a sail right a-head, close hauled on the larboard tack. As soon as I could discover her hull from the mast-head, which the haze and lofty poop magnified, I made the *Vernon's* signal to haul the wind on the starboard tack, and make all sail.

" Soon after hauling our wind, the strange sail tacked and gave chase. At half past two P. M., finding the chase gain on the *Vernon*, I shortened sail to let her go a-head, and then brought to, in hopes at least to make him shorten sail, and to divert his attention from the ship under my convoy. We soon after discovered him to be only a large frigate with a poop. At a little after five he hoisted a Spanish ensign, with a broad pendant, and fired a gun ; at six, being within random shot, astern of me, I wore and stemmed for his lee-bow, till we had just distance sufficient to weather him, then hauled close athwart his fore-foot, giving him our whole fire within half pistol shot ; passed close to windward engaging, while the enemy expecting us to leeward, were firing their lee-guns into the water. The disorder our first fire threw them into they did not recover. We then wore and placed ourselves to great advantage, which our superiority of sailing allowed us to do, supporting without intermission, a most astonishing close and well served fire, at never more than half a cable distance, till the enemy struck, which was about twenty minutes past eight. She proved to be the *Santa Catalina*, Don Mig. Jacón commander, of thirty-four guns, twenty-six long Spanish twelves on the main-deck, and eight six-pounders on the quarter-deck. The  
number

it still more satisfactory, the victory was achieved with the loss of only one man killed and four wound-

number of men I have not been able to ascertain. We have on board two hundred and eighty-six prisoners. The captain and officers say they have between twenty-five and thirty killed, and only eight wounded.

“ Don M. Jacon is a captain in the line, hath a distinguishing pendant as such, and is senior officer of the frigates cruising off the Straits ; had a very particular description of the *Success* sent him, whom he was particularly directed to look out for ; had been cruising three weeks for us ; had seen us four times : chased us twice, with a squadron of four and six sail, from whom he parted two days before. He speaks with much displeasure of the behaviour of his ship’s company.

“ Lieutenant Oakley, whom I had appointed to take charge of the prize, was indefatigable in clearing the wreck. Her mizen-mast fell some time before she struck, the main-mast a short time after, and her foremast must have shared the same fate, if the water had not been remarkably smooth : in short, without assuming much presumption, I may add our guns did as much execution in the little time as could have been done ; her hull was like a sieve, the shot going through both sides.

“ From this state of the prize, their lordships may imagine my hopes of getting her to port were not very sanguine. While we were endeavouring to secure her foremast, and had just repaired our own damages, which were considerable in our yards, masts, and sails, at day-light of the 18th six sail appeared in sight, two frigates, some of whom had chased, and were reconnoitring us. I instantly ordered the *Vernon* to make all sail, hoisted all my boats out, and sent on board for Lieutenant Oakley and the seamen, with orders to set fire to the *Santa Catalina* before he left her. She blew up in a quarter of an hour.

“ The wind being at S E. I made all sail from the six sail, and determined on proceeding with the *Vernon* to Madeira, she being now in want of provisions and water. We had two hundred and eighty-six prisoners on board, whose intention to attempt rising

ed. No advantage, however, that arising from the glory achieved only excepted, accrued to the victors, as they were obliged to destroy their prize in conse-

we had fortunately discovered, encouraged by the superiority of numbers which appeared very striking to them.

“The spirited behaviour of every officer, and of the ship’s company, is superior to my praise: their real value and merit on this occasion hath shewn itself in much stronger, and more expressive terms than I am master of: but still it becomes a duty incumbent on me to represent them to their lordships, as deserving their favour and protection: I have particular pleasure in so doing. Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>Kinley (2d) assisted by Mr. James, master, were very assiduous in getting the Success’s damages repaired, as well as they could admit. Lieutenant Pownal, of the marines, by the greatest attention and good example, formed a party that would do honour to veteran soldiers, &c.

“From the reports given me since, it adds to my satisfaction to know, that had I not been obliged to set fire to the Santa Catalina, she could not have swam, a gale of wind coming on immediately after, which obliged us to lay to under a storm stay-sail. She was the largest frigate in the king of Spain’s service; her exact dimensions I have received from the captain; they were taken three months since, when she was coppered at Cadiz, &c.

Dimensions of the Santa Catalina.

Length of Keel	- -	138 feet 11 inches.
Length of Deck	- -	157 — 10 —.
Extreme breadth	- -	39 — 4 —.
Height of middle port, when victualled for four months,	- - }	39 — 4 —.

“My thanks are due to Colonel Gladstone, and the other officers, passengers on board the Vernon store-ship, for their attention, particularly in assisting to secure the prisoners.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble Servant,

CHARLES M. POLE.

“Killed in the Success, 1—Wounded, 4.”

quence

quence of the appearance of a strong squadron belonging to the enemy.

A peace soon after this ensued, and the frigate was paid off; but Captain Pole received the command of the *Crown*, of sixty-four guns, then employed as a guard ship, and at present lying *in ordinary* at Portsmouth, where she now serves as a powder magazine.

In consequence of the apprehension of a rupture with Spain, relative to the trade to Nootka Sound, which some of our statesmen affected to denominate a war about blubber and catskins, while others considered the national honour as deeply interested, a new armament took place, on which he was appointed to the command of the *Melampus*, a thirty-six gun frigate; and as this was a very fine vessel, and her commander well acquainted with the French coast, he was employed in watching the progress of any equipments which might take place in the harbour of Brest, with a view of seconding the efforts of the Court of Madrid. But as the National Assembly, then busily occupied in the formation of a new constitution, did not hastily embark in the contest; the Spanish ambassador was instructed to enter into a friendly discussion with his Majesty's ministers, relative to the respective claims of the two powers, and hostilities were thus happily prevented.

No sooner did the late war with France take place, than Captain Pole, who previous to this had been appointed groom of the chamber to a brother sailor, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, was appoint-

ed to the command of the Colossus, of seventy-four guns. In this ship he served during some time, under Vice-admiral, now Lord Hotham, whose flag was flying on board the Britannia, of one hundred and ten guns; he then joined Lord Hood's fleet, along with which he appeared off Toulon, when a temporary possession was obtained of that important naval arsenal, August 28, 1793. A large sum of money has been lately voted, after a pretty sharp debate, to the victors, on account of the ships, &c. taken there, of which it is supposed that the commander in chief has obtained about twenty-eight thousand pounds, while the other officers have shared according to their respective ranks.

In 1795 we find Captain Pole in the Channel fleet, under Admiral Earl Howe, who commanded in the Queen Charlotte, of one hundred and ten guns. Soon after this he hoisted his flag as a Rear-admiral of the Blue, in which situation he repaired to the West Indies. On his return, he served once more in the grand fleet, and was then nominated commander in chief on the Newfoundland station, to which appointment is annexed the civil government of the island.

In 1799, being on board the Royal George, he repaired with three bombs, together with several tenders and cutters under his command, on an important expedition. Having joined the ships cruising under Admiral Berkeley on the first of July, off the isle of Rhé, it was determined, in consequence of orders from home, to attack the Spanish squadron  
then

then lying in Basque roads, under the protection of the isle of Aix.\* Accordingly, after sending the bombs a-head, under the command of Captain Keats, of the *Boadicea*, with the *St. Fiorenzo* and *Urania* frigates, he bore up next day for the *Pertuis d'Antioche*. At eleven o'clock the English came to anchor in Basque roads, in line of battle; and the weather, which had been thick and rainy, having cleared up, they discovered the enemy about four miles and a half off, consisting of five sail of the line,† moored very judiciously so as to extend from the isle of Aix towards a shoal that runs nearly parallel to the isle of Oleron, between which and the island was stationed a floating mortar-battery.

The bombs and frigates proceeded, notwithstanding this formidable appearance, towards the point of attack, and were anchored within the range of the shells from the battery just alluded to. Soon after this, by means of springs on their cables, they opened their fire on the Spanish admiral, who was stationed at the extremity of the line, with an intent to destroy his flag ship by means of *carcasses*. But that officer no

\* The English squadron, after this junction, consisted of the following ships:

- |                                     |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Royal George, Rear-Admiral Pole, | 4. Renown, and |
| 2. Sans Pareil,                     | 5. The Robust. |
| 3. Venerable,                       |                |

*Boadicea*, *St. Fiorenzo*, *Urania*, frigates; and three bombs, &c.

† The Spanish squadron consisted of the *San Real Carlos*, carrying one hundred guns, and bearing the Admiral's flag, four two-deckers, and a frigate.

sooner perceived that his own shot fell short of his antagonists, and that he could only encounter danger without the most distant hopes of retaliation, than he very prudently veered away his cable, and by this increased his distance, so as to preclude all possibility of damage.

The wind about this time having died away, the enemy sent out a number of gun-boats, which, however, produced no effect; and as the British commander was restricted by orders from the Admiralty not to remain in Basque roads, on account of the formidable fortifications on the isle of Aix, and particularly the citadel, he made signal for the return of the bombs, and stood out to sea, through the Pertuis d'Antioche, fully convinced that fireships alone could have been brought forward with any reasonable prospect of success.

In the summer of 1801 Vice-admiral Pole, whose flag was then flying on board the *St. George*, of ninety-eight guns, was appointed to the command of the fleet in the Baltic, in which important situation he succeeded the hero of Aboukir. The grand object of this armament was to dispel the northern confederacy, which had taken place under the auspices of Paul I.; and the sudden death of that monarch, the recent battle of Copenhagen, together with the prudent conduct of Sweden, all tended to bring about the pacification, which soon after ensued.

Here follows a transcript of the correspondence which took place, when, in consequence of the ill health of the former commander in chief, the Vice-admiral

admiral assumed the direction of the British squadron.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Cronstadt.

“ ADMIRAL,

“ Carlscrona, June 17, 1801.

“ With the most gracious approbation of the King, my master, I have the honour to signify to your Lordship, that according to the latest accounts from St. Petersburg, his Excellency Lord St. Helen’s has arrived there, and that the negotiation gives reason to believe and hope, that the present differences will be soon adjusted in an equitable and pacific manner.

“ I am hereby afforded a new opportunity of assuring your Excellency of my sincere and high esteem.

“ CRONSTADT,

“ To his Excellency Admiral His Majesty’s Adjutant on board  
Lord Nelson, commanding the Fleet, and Commander at  
the British fleet.” Carlscrona.”

Vice-Admiral Pole, who, as has been already observed, had succeeded to the command of the fleet in the Baltic, returned to this letter the following answer :

“ On board his Majesty’s ship the St. George,

“ ADMIRAL,

in Kioge Bay, June 22, 1801.

“ I this morning received your letter of the 17th. On this occasion I cannot but lament that I do not understand the Swedish language, and especially as I am consequently in doubt, whether your letter has been rightly translated to me.

“ I am, however, sufficiently acquainted with its contents, to entreat you to assure his Swedish Majesty, in my name, that I acknowledge with the greatest pleasure his gracious condescension, in informing me that Lord St. Helen’s is arrived at St. Petersburg, and that it may be expected that the negotiations carrying on there will soon be concluded on the most friendly, equitable, and durable conditions, as is the wish of the king, my master, and the whole kingdom.

“ On my arrival here on the 18th instant, Lord Nelson returned to England. The state of his health renders it necessary that he should retire from the service for a time.

" I entreat you, Admiral, to accept of my sincere wish that a perfect amity may soon be restored between the two nations which we have the honour to serve, and to permit me to assure you of the high esteem with which I am

" Your most obedient humble servant, &c.

" CHARLES M. POLE,

" Vice-Admiral, and Commander of his Britannaic Majesty's fleet in the Baltic "

It being the interest, and consequently the wish of both courts, that a good understanding should take place, amicable arrangements were immediately entered into, and a treaty soon after concluded between England and the Northern Powers, which it is to be hoped will be observed for centuries to come, by both parties, with the most unequivocal good faith.

A few months after his return to England, the subject of this memoir, who had now attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red, in consequence of a promotion, in which he was the last included, received a patent of baronetage, as Sir Charles Morice Pole,\* of Wolverton, in the county of Hants.

He had never as yet been in parliament, but at the last general election in 1802 he came in for the borough of Newark, in conjunction with Sir Thomas

\* There are now no fewer than three families of the name of Pole, who have obtained the honour of the English Baronetage. The heads of these are :

1st, Sir William Temple Pole, of Shute, in Devonshire, September 12, 1628.

2d, Sir Charles Pole, of Walthamstow, in the county of Essex.

And, 3d, Sir Charles Morice Pole, of Wolverton, Hants, September 12, 1801.

Manners Sutton, now one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and then Solicitor-General to the King.

Towards the latter end of the same year (in the month of December), Mr. Addington, since created Viscount Sidmouth, conceived the idea of inquiring into and reforming the various abuses which had taken place in the public departments, during the course of the former war. This is said to have originated in consequence of some remarks made by Mr. Robson, member for Okehampton, during the preceding parliament. This gentleman observed, that the respectable house of Martin, Stone, and Co. had presented a trifling bill on the Sick and Hurt Office, to the amount of a few pounds, \* which had been dishonoured, under pretence of having none of the public money in hand.

The representative just alluded to, had assuredly drawn too *broad* a conclusion from this circumstance, when he maintained that government was insolvent. The minister of that day, however, deemed it proper to get rid of the business without any noise, by remarking that the whole originated in some trifling mistake. But the fact made a due impression on the mind of Mr. Addington, and he determined the moment that peace afforded a fair opportunity, to make the necessary inquiries. Accordingly, at the recommendation of Earl St. Vincent, the whole of the Naval Department was fixed upon, and a board constituted, consisting of Charles Morice Pole, Evan

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\* Nineteen pounds thirteen shillings.

Law, John Ford, and Henry Nicholls, Esquires, of which the member for Newark was appointed chairman.

With a due respect to constitutional forms, these gentlemen were nominated not under a royal, but a parliamentary sanction, so that they might at all times be within the control of the House of Commons; and the nation augured well of a minister who of his own accord cheerfully undertook that investigation which a former Chancellor of the Exchequer \* was reluctantly obliged to adopt, at the instigation of a member of the opposition. †

The important measure just alluded to, was carried into effect by means of the 43d of George III, ‡ entitled “ An Act for appointing Commissioners to inquire and examine into any irregularities, frauds, or abuses, which are or have been practised by persons employed in the several naval departments therein mentioned, and in the business of prize-agency; and to report such observations as shall occur to them for preventing such irregularities, frauds, and abuses, and for the better conducting and managing the business of the said departments, and of prize-agency, in future.”

It was of course some time before they could make the necessary arrangements, and commence their labours; but this circumstance, however plain and

\* Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guilford.

† The late Colonel Barré.

‡ The bill was introduced December 13, 1802.

obvious, produced much outcry against the commissioners on the part of those who would have been eager, perhaps, had occasion served, to censure their precipitancy.

At length, however, the first report was presented to the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed, May 12, 1803. It concerned the conduct of the naval store-keepers at Jamaica; and in it we find that one of them had not only been engaged in the importation of base coin from Birmingham, into the island, but although his lawful salary and perquisites had risen from one thousand four hundred and thirty-six pounds to two thousand and sixty-eight pounds, yet he appeared to have committed frauds of the grossest kind, and to an enormous amount. We shall here only state two or three of the charges.

		L.	S.	D.
1. American masts, which would have cost in England	198 18 8			
were by him charged	- -	1238	0	0
2. Copper sheets (9320lbs.) which in England cost	553 7 6			
were by him charged	- -	2912	10	0
3. Cables and ropes, which in England cost	- 4421 19 5			
were by him charged	- -	13307	10	0

The second report respected the "Chest at Chatham," an institution for the relief of seamen maimed and wounded in the service of their country. Among the frauds here discovered, it would appear that an estate called Sockles, leased in 1789, for twenty-one years, at one hundred and five pounds, was worth from three to four thousand pounds per annum, while two houses erected in Hammond Place, Chatham, had only produced ninety-five pounds per annum (at

(at the rate of four pounds six shillings and nine-pence per cent.), although two thousand one hundred and eighty-eight pounds eight shillings and eleven-pence had been expended upon them, and the ground appertained to the charity. In consequence of their recommendation, the Chest has since been removed to Greenwich, and many beneficial consequences have ensued from this measure\*.

The next subject of investigation was the Block Contract and the Cooper's Contract; and it appeared from their labours, that the former of these, notwithstanding it was so profitable as to be let to sub-contractors, yet had received an increase of allowance on certain articles; while, in respect to the latter, a *mistake* of two thousand four hundred and twenty-three pounds fourteen shillings was detected.

The fourth report included "Prize-Agency;" concerning which, notwithstanding the general outcry, "abuses and irregularities, rather than fraud," were discoverable. To remedy the grievances com-

\* On the 23d of July, 1803, Sir Charles Morice Pole brought up the bill for transferring to the Directors of Greenwich Hospital the administration of the Chest at Chatham.

In consequence of some observations by a member, it was stated that in addition to sundry abuses, great grievances had formerly existed in this department. It was cruel, on one hand, that poor disabled seamen should pay from twenty to twenty-five pounds per cent. agency, for receiving their small pittance; and on the other, it was intolerable that a poor fellow who had lost his limbs in the service of his country, should come two or three hundred miles to entitle him to this benefit.

plained

plained of, the plan of a General Prize Office was submitted to the attention of the legislature.

The next object of inquiry was "the Sixpenny Office," the principal duty of which department consisted in the collection of a considerable part of the revenue of Greenwich Hospital, by means of a deduction of sixpence a month out of the wages of seamen employed in the merchants' service, &c. The business of this office was intended to be managed by means of three commissioners, residing on or near the spot; but it was discovered that one of them lived at Tapley in Devonshire, whilst the other was one of the Esquire Beadles of the University of Cambridge.

The sixth report respected "Plymouth and Woolwich Yards." The seventh was concerning Le Caton Hospital Ship, and the Naval Hospital at East Stonehouse. The eighth, "his Majesty's Victualling Department at Plymouth and the embezzlement of the King's casks;" and the ninth, the Receipt and Issue of Stores in Plymouth Yard.

In all these departments, it appears that either great irregularities, or gross frauds, were evident; but it was the tenth report, ordered to be printed February 13th, 1805, that chiefly engaged the attention of the public, and furnished grounds of impeachment by the House of Commons.

As the impeachment of Viscount Melville is founded on this article, we shall here present the reader with a more copious abstract than we have given of the former ones, premising, however, that

we

we mean to give no opinion whatsoever upon this delicate but important subject.

It appears, that by his Majesty's warrant of the 20th of June, 1782, the salary of the Treasurer of the Navy was increased from two thousand to four thousand pounds, in full satisfaction of all profits and emoluments before received by any former treasurers. It was also directed by an act of parliament, (25th George III. cap. 31,) that all monies should be lodged in the Bank of England for this branch of service, and drawn from thence as required for the discharge of debts as they arose. Instead of this, the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville, while Treasurer of the Navy, by his agent, Mr. Alexander Trotter, formerly a Clerk in the Navy Pay Office, with the privity of the said Treasurer, but not to the extent understood by his Paymaster, as he has since asserted, drew large sums out of the Bank, and placed the same in the hands of Messrs. Coutts and Co. bankers, in the Strand, giving drafts in payment upon them, not only to answer the demands of the Treasurer of the Navy, but likewise on Mr. Dundas's private account.

As it appeared to the commissioners, if the directions of the act of parliament had been complied with, that the sums standing in the name of the Treasurer at the Bank would not have been less than his unappropriated balances, they deemed it their duty to inquire minutely into the affair. Mr. Trotter, on being questioned whether he derived any  
profit

profit from the money thus withdrawn, refused to answer, under the provisions of the fifth clause of the statute by which the Board had been constituted; and he availed himself of this clause in every question which bore any relation to the use or employment of the public money, either by himself or Lord Melville; urging in the latter case, that as he had drawn all the money from the Bank in the first instance, he conceived himself implicated in its subsequent appropriation.

He, however, gave the commissioners to understand, that money applicable to navy services, was employed by his lordship in the service of the state; and that he was led to this conclusion in consequence of a considerable sum so advanced having been returned to him by Mr. Long, one of the secretaries of the treasury.

On receiving this intelligence, they issued a precept to Viscount Melville, for an account of monies received by him, or any person on his account, or by his order, from the Paymaster of the Navy, between the 1st of July, 1785, and the 31st of December, 1800, stating when such monies were received, and also the time when, and the persons by whom, the same were returned to the Bank of England.

The following is a copy of the answer returned by his lordship:

“Wimbledon, 30th of June, 1804.

“GENTLEMEN,

“I have received your requisition, of date the 26th instant. It is impossible for me to furnish you with the account you ask. It is more than four years since I left the office of Treasurer of the Navy,

Navy, and at the period of doing so, having accounted for every sum *imprest* into my hands, I transferred the whole existing balance to the account of my successor. From that time, I never considered any one paper or voucher that remained in my hands as of the smallest use to myself or any other person, and consequently, being often in the practice, since I retired to Scotland, of employing occasionally some time in assorting my papers, and destroying those that were useless, I am satisfied there does not exist any one material by which I could make up such an account as you specify. But, independently of that circumstance, I think it right to remind you, that, during a great part of the time I was Treasurer of the Navy, I held other very confidential situations in Government, and was intimately connected with others. So situated, I did not decline giving occasional accommodation from the funds in the Treasurer's hands, to other services not connected with my official situation as Treasurer of the Navy. If I had materials to make up such an account as you require, I could not do it without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of Government, which my duty to the public must have restrained me from revealing.

(Signed)

“ MELVILLE.”

Soon after this, Lord Melville himself was examined, but he objected to answering any questions respecting the sums appropriated to any other service than that of the navy, relying on the fifth clause of the act, and also upon the circumstances alluded to in the letter before mentioned. He also declined, and upon the same grounds, to inform the commissioners whether he had received any profit or advantage from the use or employment of money issued for carrying on the current service of the navy, between the 1st of January, 1786, and the 31st of May, 1800; that is, from the time of the operation of the act for lodging the money in the Bank, to the time of his quitting office.

On

On the examination of Mr. Antrobus, one of the partners in the house of Messrs Thomas Coutts and Co. it appeared that the public money received by this house from the Bank, on Mr. Trotter's drafts, had been invested in exchequer and navy bills, lent upon the security of stock,\* and employed by Mr. Trotter in discounting private bills; and that considerable purchases of Bank and East India stock had been made on his account. On the whole, it was the opinion of the Board, that the sum of six millions, seven hundred and eighty-three thousand, three hundred and seventeen pounds, two shillings

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\* The whole of the dividends on Mr. Trotter's property in the public funds, appears by the accounts of Messrs. Coutts, to have amounted,

	L.	S.	D.	
In 1791, to	80	0	0	per ann.
In 1792, to	200	0	0	
In 1793, to	457	10	0	
In 1794, to	536	8	0	
In 1796, to	2000	3	0	
In 1797, to	4062	17	0	
In 1801, to	6816	13	3	
In 1802, to	11,368	1	0	

Mr. Trotter's funded property at the close of the account, appears to have consisted of

L.	S.	D.	
53,221	13	4	Consols
17,858	7	0	India Stock
2,142	17	2	Bank Stock
44,000	0	0	Red. 3 per Cents
130,005	0	0	4 per Cents
1,500	0	0	Imp. An.

His salary was eight hundred pounds per annum.

and

and eleven-pence, was money issued for navy services, drawn from the Bank by Mr. Trotter, and deposited with Messrs. Coutts and Co.

As the name of Mr. Mark Sprott, an eminent stock-broker, appeared frequently in the accounts, as paying and receiving large sums of money, it was deemed necessary to examine him as to the nature of his transactions with the Paymaster of the Navy; but after deposing that to the best of his recollection, he had not received any money from the Bank by Mr. Trotter's drafts, he refused to answer every other question put to him, alleging that he had taken the advice of counsel, who were of opinion that he was not bound to answer such questions.

“ Upon the whole,” say they, “ it appears to us to be a clearly-established fact, that during this treasurership, the money issued for navy services, was used to a great amount for the purposes of private emolument; and this circumstance leads us to observe, that if a treasurer of the navy, after an increase of his salary, upon the terms contained in the warrant under his Majesty's sign manual, derive profit from the use of money issued for navy services, he becomes, upon principles of equity, a debtor to the public, and is accountable for all such profit. Our duty requires us to add, that the withdrawing of the public money from the Bank of England, in the manner and for the purposes before related, was, in our judgment, a disobedience to the law, as established by the 25th of the present reign, cap. 31.”

No sooner was the tenth report published, than

Lord

Lord Melville addressed a letter to the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, in which he stated that he “had never knowingly derived any advantages from the use of the public money; and that whatever emolument accrued to Mr. Trotter, in the conduct of the pecuniary concerns of the office, was, as far as he was informed, exclusively his own.” To this it was replied, on the part of Sir Charles Morice Pole, Evan Law, John Ford, H. Nichols, and W. Mackworth Praed, Esquires, “that they had been occupied several months in investigating the mode of conducting the business of the office of Treasurer of the Navy; that those examined by them had the fullest opportunity of stating and explaining all things which related to the management of that department, or to the share which they respectively had in it; and of correcting at any time, during the progress of the inquiry, any mistakes which might inadvertently have been made. Our former observations upon the irregularities and abuses,” add they, “which we discovered, were formed and drawn up with the utmost care and attention, and they are now submitted to the three branches of the legislature, as the act by which we are appointed requires.”

The eleventh report comprehends three parts:

1st, The issuing of navy bills for the purpose of raising money.

2d, Loss arising from the mode of paying the interest on navy and transport bills.

And, 3d, Money imprested by the Navy-Board for secret naval services.

1st, It appears that considerable difficulties existed in respect to the obtaining of money for the service of the years 1800, 1801, and 1802, in consequence of a deficiency sometimes of money in the treasury, and sometimes from the naval supplies being exhausted. To remedy this, it was at first attempted to renew ninety days navy-bills at the usual interest ; but this did not succeed, upon which it was agreed, that bills under a new form should be issued, and this was accordingly done to the amount of four millions three hundred thousand pounds, besides ninety days interest, which was added to give them the semblance of regular bills. There was, however, this difference between them. The regular bills stated the particular kind of stores or services for which they were given in payment. These bills expressed only, that they were for “sundry naval services.”

On application to the Comptroller of the Navy for an explanation, he declined to answer the question put to him, under a clause in the act of parliament ; but it appeared that Messrs. Goldsmids, who advanced the money, before the bills were negotiated, had received a commission to the amount of five thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds.

2d, The loss arising to the public on twenty-six millions, fifty-three thousand, eight hundred and twelve pounds, three shillings and sixpence, by paying on the eighty-ninth day instead of the ninetieth, is estimated at three thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds, ten shillings and three-pence, or between seven and eight hundred pounds per annum..

3d, It

3d, It is stated that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds had been imprested, which had been advanced by the Navy Board, in consequence of directions from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to the Comptroller, marked "Most Secret;" that five thousand pounds had been repaid into the hands of the Treasurer of the Navy, and the remaining imprest of ninety-five thousand pounds taken off by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, dated the 1st of May, 1804.

It appears also that sixteen thousand pounds had been advanced by the Navy board to Messrs. Hammersleys, for the performance of secret naval services, under the direction of one of the principal secretaries of state; and it would seem from what has transpired, that this was the exact sum expended on the stone expedition.

The above only contains a brief outline of the labours of the Commissioners, who sat daily from five to seven hours; and in addition to his particular share in these, Sir Charles Pole has been obliged sometimes to explain, and sometimes to defend their conduct in parliament. Much has been already achieved, yet it depends not on him, but on those entrusted with the management of public affairs, whether his efforts will prove serviceable to the extent hoped for. It has been hinted, indeed, that unless he is properly supported, he means to withdraw from such an Herculean task, it being impossible to cleanse the Augæan stable, without the immediate confidence and support of the government.

Whatever may be his ultimate intentions, we doubt not that they will be founded on the most honourable principles, and formed after the most deliberate reflection. The conduct of Sir Charles Pole has obtained for him the approbation of the Public ; and we have every reason to suppose that this will either follow him into his retreat, or accompany him in the further prosecution of his honourable labours.

The subject of this memoir has but seldom voted in the House of Commons, and indeed never appears to have spoken, but in the character of a commissioner, or a professional man.

On the 15th of March, 1804, when Mr. Pitt brought forward his proposition on the state of our naval force, with a view of criminating the conduct of the Admiralty Board, Vice-Admiral Pole rose, “ not for the purpose of assenting to, or dissenting from, the motion of the Right Honourable Gentleman, but merely to give an opinion in the way of his profession, as to the merits and activity of the Noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty.

“ Of that activity he could not think too highly, when he considered that within forty-eight hours after it was known that hostilities were to commence, Admiral Cornwallis sailed for Brest, and from that moment to this, with scarcely any interruption, has held the port just alluded to, in a state of the strictest blockade. The energy, assiduity, and enterprize.” added he, “ of every officer, and every man in that fleet, from the gallant Admiral, who commanded it, down to the cook’s boy, was never paralleled in the naval history of this or any other country.

“ But it was not only the ports of the enemy, of that power which particularly deserves the name, but even those of its allies, from, he might almost say, Toulon to the Texel, that were kept  
blockaded

blockaded by the extraordinary perseverance and enterprize of the navy of Great Britain.

“As to the objection that had been urged against the Earl of St. Vincent, for not employing a greater number of gun-boats, that was a difference between the Noble Lord and the Right Honourable Gentleman on a professional subject, relative to which, although he was not without an opinion, yet he would not then trouble the House with it. But in regard to the employment of armed cutters, he had no motives of delicacy, and he would not hesitate to declare that the taking them into the service was an *arrant job*; a job, because the men were rarely mustered, and the vessels were mostly in port.

“He had his ideas with respect to the proper mode of defending the country, and those were directly against the use of such craft as had been recommended; for our shores, he was confident, would be much better secured by the service of fifty-gun ships and frigates.

“There was one remaining point on which he wished to trouble the House, and that was the very considerable number of men that the admirable arrangements and indefatigable exertions of the Board of Admiralty had procured for the navy, and for which, in his opinion, they, and the Noble Lord who presided there, were entitled to the thanks and gratitude of the country.”

The Vice-Admiral concluded by observing, “that as he considered the proposed inquiry unnecessary, he would vote against the production of the papers that had been moved for by the Right Honourable Gentleman.”

On a division, Mr. Pitt’s motion was lost by a majority of 71.

In consequence of the late glorious battle, when the *Hero* of Aboukir closed his brilliant career by the decisive victory off Cape Trafalgar, October 21, 1805, a promotion immediately took place in the navy, in consequence of which Sir Charles Pole was advanced from the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red, to that of Admiral of the Blue.

## MR. ELLISTON.

ROBERT William Elliston, whose dramatic talents are well known to the public, was born in the parish of Bloomsbury, in 1774. His father, a watch-maker of some eminence, resided for many years in Charles-street, Covent Garden ; his uncle is the Reverend Dr. Elliston, the much esteemed Master of Sidney College, Cambridge, who superintended and defrayed the expence of his education.

At the usual age, young Elliston was sent to St. Paul's School, a seminary which can boast of having produced many eminent scholars, and given dignitaries to the church, as well as conferred ornaments on several of the learned professions.

This gentleman was originally intended for the pulpit, but such has been his attachment to the drama from his infancy, that instead of *taking orders*, he has at length become duly authorised, in the language of the play-house, to give them.

Private theatricals, which have, in our humble opinion, been productive of much mischief, first seduced our hero from the path that had been marked out for his future pursuits in life, and in which the high respectability of some of his relatives afforded well-founded hopes of travelling to advantage.

An English thesis,\* which, as one of the senior

\* The subject of this thesis was,

“ Nemo confidat nimium secundis :”

“ Trust not prosperity's alluring wreath,

The thorns of adverse fortune lurk beneath.”

boys, was delivered by him with much effect, at St. Paul's School, in the year 1790, seems to have hastened his fate; for we find him, in a few weeks after this effort, at the age of sixteen, performing the part of Pierre, at the Lyceum in the Strand, then occasionally opened as a private theatre.

Pursuits of this description naturally produced remorse, and finally anger, on the part of those who had pointed out a far different career. His fancy, however, soared beyond the reach of prudence, and he thoughtlessly threw himself on a wide world unprotected and unknown.

His first public debut was at Bath, on the 21st of April, 1791, in the modest yet respectable Tressel in Richard the III.\* Notwithstanding the success of his first efforts, it appears that he was unfortunate in his desire of procuring an engagement, the company being full, and the manager of a provincial theatre frequently looking with a suspicious eye to the increased expenditure of twenty-five shillings per week.

\* Colley Cibber, known only for some years by the name of Master Colley, also made his first appearance in an inferior situation. After waiting impatiently for the prompter's notice, he by good fortune obtained the honour of carrying a message on the stage to one of the chief actors of that day, whom he greatly disconcerted. Betterton asked in some anger, who it was that had committed the blunder? Downs (prompter) replied, "Master Colley."—"Then forfeit him," rejoined the other. "Why, Sir, he has no salary."—"No! Then put him down ten shillings a week, and forfeit him five."

To this good-natured adjustment of rewards and punishments, Cibber owed the first money he took in the treasury office.

However, in consequence of the recommendation of Mr. Wallis, father of the late amiable Miss Wallis, now Mrs. Campbell, he repaired to Tate Wilkinson of York, where we have frequently heard him declare he spent much of his time in merely going through the routine of his business, which he considered as an intolerable drudgery ; notwithstanding this, his natural requisites, added to some respectable patronage, gave him a pre-eminence on that stage.

Tired, however, with the scanty fame a provincial theatre affords, and having also experienced some portion of that woeful alloy so frequently preponderating in the cup of delights, he was at length induced, in the pride of youth, to hasten to the metropolis, with the fond expectation of influencing his friends to exert themselves to procure him an appearance on the London boards. Previously, however, to his quitting Yorkshire, he opened a correspondence with his uncle, in which he attempted to palliate, with the usual weapons of youthful sophistry, his aberrations from duty. He, at the same time, called with solemn earnestness upon his relation, for a continuance of his affection, and with the desire of that alone, braced his mind to those exertions he would in all probability be called upon to make, as he was determined, if possible, to be the founder of his own fortune.

His application did not fail of its desired effect. His uncle's love had only been veiled, not annihilated by a temporary anger ; and when moved by the solicitous appeals of his nephew, the tenderness and affection

affection of his bosom began to manifest itself in all that warmth of attention and regard that is allied to the character of friend and relative.

After a short residence in London, through the medium of Professor Martyn (another of his uncles) and Doctor Farmer, he obtained an interview with the late George Stevens, Esquire, the celebrated editor of Shakspeare, who introduced him to Mr. Kemble. He was by that gentleman recommended to study the part of Romeo, against the opening of the present splendid building of Drury Lane. Circumstances, however, which delayed that event, together with the want of an article very requisite in a great city, money, operated as an impediment to Mr. Kemble's offer, and he felt himself obliged to seek an immediate engagement where money was to be obtained.

"Money is a good soldier, and will on," says Falstaff; so did *not* say Kemble; and so Mr. Elliston did not make his appearance at Drury Lane.

His "poverty and not his will" accordingly obliged him to seek for cash, as well as fame, elsewhere, but he left his beloved Romeo with inconceivable regret;

"And spite of all his want, a secret shame  
Invades his breast at Shakspeare's sacred name."

Pondering upon future measures, the name of Mr. Dimond, who was to perform at Richmond, met his eye. Thither he hastened, introduced himself without ceremony, and in a short discourse told the motive of his visit. During this interview, it  
was

was settled that he should repair to Bath, upon a speculative engagement of being rated according to the degree of talents his appearance should disclose.

That city, which has been long termed the dramatic hot-bed of our winter theatres, has had the merit of nurturing the rising talents of the first actress in the world, Mrs. Siddons; to the names of Henderson, Edwin, and a long list of favourite performers, may also be added that of Mr. Elliston. On his return there in the year 1793, he made his appearance in the character of Romeo, and found his former efforts had not been forgotten. A number of trifling circumstances, such as the indisposition of performers, &c. soon rendered him a distinguished favourite, and afforded a lucky opportunity of calling into action a versatility of powers which was before unknown even to himself.

While in the plenitude of his great, and almost unprecedented success, the majestic doors of the new theatre were opened. Now, therefore, was the time to realize his expectations. Professor Martyn accordingly applied for information as to the terms his nephew was likely to procure if he came to town, and was given to understand that forty, fifty, and sixty shillings per week, on a three-years engagement, were as much as could be hazarded on the untried abilities of a mere novice.

This offer was prudently rejected, and Elliston immediately closed with the proposals of the Bath managers, who were anxious to engage him for a certain term.

Here,

Here, then, we find him for a considerable time bustling through all the varied scenes of the drama, although still in an inferior walk to that he was soon destined to assume; for the manager and proprietor was, in the technical phrase of the stage, in possession of the *first walk*, and to disposses such a rival was as impossible, from his situation, as it was unnecessary, from the respectability of his opponent.

Among the most successful efforts of the subject of this memoir, may be reckoned his obtaining, about this time, the hand and heart of a most respectable public character at Bath, (Miss Rundall,) who was as celebrated for her beauty as for her skill in unravelling the mysteries of the mazy dance. Mrs. Elliston, now the mother of five children, is elegant in her manners, enjoys the patronage of persons of the first distinction, and at present takes the lead of all competitors in the school of Terpsichore.

Thus fortunate in his choice, and happy in domestic life, it is more than probable that he would have remained content with the laurels the inhabitants of Bath were daily entwining round his brow, had not a promise been given to Mr. Colman to perform at his theatre; and before the expiration of his honeymoon, he accordingly ventured to tread the London boards, in the arduous character of Octavian in the "Mountaineers," and Vapour in the Farce of "My Grandmother."

The many times he has personified the former of these, since his first appearance, renders it almost unnecessary

unnecessary to dwell upon the subject ; but it may not be amiss to add here, that it is still a contested point with the town, whether Mr. Kemble or Mr. Elliston gives the most perfect and correct delineation of this romantic and insane lover. His performance of *Vapour*, on the other hand, evinced that power of contrasted talents, which did not fail of impressing the public with a proper estimation of his serio-comic capability.

Having thus fulfilled the promise he had made, he was obliged to return to Bath to close the theatrical campaign of 1796, according to the letter of his article, with Mr. Dimond. But Mr. Colman being aware of the value of Mr. Elliston's youthful energies, secured him for the remainder of the season. A powerful reason soon after evinced itself for the manager's attachment to this dramatic stripling. The failure of the "Iron Chest," on its original representation at Drury-lane Theatre, and the singular circumstances attending it, are fresh in the minds of the *amateurs*. Mr. Colman, doubtless, eager to preserve his literary fame, and holding the powers of our young actor in no inconsiderable estimation, determined on risking the representation of that play at his own theatre. When a performer like Mr. Kemble had failed in producing the intended effect, from a character written expressly for the display of his powers, it was not the most easy and pleasant task, for a young actor to come after him ; but he redeemed the fame of the play, and conducted himself in  
such

such a way as to experience the entire satisfaction of the public and the author.\*

In the course of this season, the subject of the present article was announced for the character of *Sheva*, in the Comedy of "The Jew;" and his representation of the philanthropic Israelite completely established his fame as an excellent and valuable performer.

The growing reputation of this gentleman at length induced Mr. Harris, the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, to engage him to play at stated intervals, an indulgence kindly granted by Messrs. Palmer and Dimond, with whom he had now renewed his articles for three years.

The novelty of this undertaking, united with the rising popularity of the Bath actor, occasioned considerable jealousy in the Green-room, and obtained for him the facetious appellation of the "Telegraph, or Fortnight Actor."

His exertions in this way, however, did not answer the expectations of either party; and at his own earnest solicitation Mr. Harris was induced to cancel the articles.

During the following summer he resumed his situation at the Haymarket with the same success as before, and then returned to Bath. On the secession of Mr. Dimond, Mr. Elliston obtained a large addition of characters, and from this period to the

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\* That Mr. Colman was not only pleased but delighted on this occasion, will be seen from the second edition of the *Iron Chest*.

time of his leaving that city, he may be literally considered as the prop of its theatre.

The emoluments and fame of a provincial play-house, cannot, however, keep pace with a mind burning with ambition ; and although it would appear that the remuneration allotted to him was commensurate with the means of the establishment, yet his views were constantly directed towards a permanent situation in the metropolis.

At this period Mr. Colman determined on a measure new and extraordinary ; for he found the encroachment on his short-lived season so alarming, that, incited by the spur of the occasion, he resolved to be no longer fettered with the performers of either house ; in short, all were discharged who could not appear at the Haymarket on the 15th of May, and their places were to be supplied by provincial adventurers. " The world was all before him," for his discerning eye to select the best actors time and circumstances would allow him to engage, and the first individual of his election was Mr. Elliston. The proposals, which from the first were liberal, at length ended in an engagement for three years, as principal actor and stage-manager ; but being wanted to join Mr. Colman so early as the 15th of May, and the Bath theatre not closing till July or August, he was obliged to purchase the indulgence by a renewal of articles at Bath.

Although in the course of the season no particular novelty offered itself, with the exception of " Love laughs at Locksmiths," yet it concluded successfully ;  
the

the Royal Family, who, since a much regretted and melancholy event,\* had but once visited the Little Theatre for several years, having honoured it with three successive weekly commands, an attraction which, without presumption, may be placed to the interest they took in the success of Mr. Elliston.

The great variety of characters† into which the young manager had, from the nature of the undertaking, been obliged to throw himself, drew the attention of some of the winter proprietors, and pecuniary offers of no inconsiderable magnitude were proposed for his acceptance in the event of his joining the *Drury Corjis*; but this point, however desirable to the gratification of his ambition, could not be brought about without the greatest inconvenience in respect to his other engagements. He would willingly have paid the forfeiture of five hundred pounds, by way of compensation, to Messrs. Palmer and Diamond, but this was resisted, and the completion of his terms demanded; after some negotiation, however, it ended in a compromise of giving up one year

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\* In the year 1794 his Majesty commanded a play at the Little Theatre, Haymarket, which drew a crowded audience to the house; and in endeavouring to obtain an early admission into the pit, a scuffle ensued in the entrance of the passage, which occasioned several persons to lose their footing on the steps to the pay-door. This produced the most dreadful confusion, and six or seven persons were killed on the spot.

† The following enumeration will illustrate the assertion:—Sir Edward Mortimer; Walter; Octavian; Abednego; Sheva; Young Wilding; Doctor Pangloss; Captain Beldair; Henry V.; Een Block, &c. &c.

of the engagement, thus leaving him at liberty to listen to other proposals at the conclusion of the season of 1803. Accordingly, at the end of that period, after a long and most laborious attention to the duties of his profession, he made a final bow to his friends at Bath, and prepared for a summer campaign.

On the return of Mr. Elliston, towards the commencement of the second season of his town engagements, many circumstances occurred to diminish the confidence that ought to have subsisted between him and his employers, and the affairs of the theatre dragged on under the accumulation of vast expenses, occasioned by a grand and unpopular ballet, called the "Enchanted Island," which, with the entertainment of "Gay Deceivers," were the only novelties produced that year; at the close of which, the receipts of the house were, as might naturally have been expected, considerably deficient when compared with the expenditure.

The season of 1804 is rendered remarkable in the biography of this gentleman; from his benefit being at the Opera, where it attracted such crowds, that the house was literally taken by storm. At the entrance into the boxes, as well as into the pit, the torrent was so impetuous, that the door-keepers, money-takers, and assistants, were overwhelmed, and a scene of great confusion ensued, which none but those who witnessed it can conceive.

Fortunately no accident occurred, and the kindness of a British audience extricated a favourite from  
one

one of the most painful and arduous situations it was possible to encounter. The play was Pizarro, and the receipts six hundred pounds ; but if all the places occupied during the confusion had been paid for, they would have amounted to one thousand pounds, being the largest sum of money ever received by an actor at his benefit.

We have now followed Mr. Elliston throughout the whole of his theatrical career, until the happy moment, when he was destined to appear in a new situation ; a moment, when his honest ambition had attained that point of eminence every actor sighs to obtain, and the classical boards of Drury-lane received him as a principal performer.

Here, as at the Haymarket, he was engaged in that variety of business which characterises his exertions, and which, by some judges, has been esteemed his chief excellence.

But the rare virtue of being industrious, added to the unusual faculty of assuming, with effect, both Sock and Buskin, were crimes not to be passed over with impunity ; and as he seemed to threaten a *monopoly*, which all worthy members of society of course spurn at, where is the wonder that the unworthy should libel the pretensions of this inordinate devourer of various dramatic parts ?

However, notwithstanding the continued efforts of malicious detraction and venal criticism, the same versatility for which he was conspicuous in the lighter scenes of a summer theatre, has been shewn in his performances at the winter house, of which *Hamlet*,

*Benedick, Macbeth, Ranger, Othello, Doricourt, Romeo, and Penruddock*, are striking illustrations.

The train of thoughts necessary for the formation of an actor, begets, perhaps, the *ardor scribendi*; for he who can best describe the thoughts of others, may, by transition, attempt to delineate his own.

Mr. Elliston accordingly presented himself in a two-fold capacity, as author and actor, in the "Venetian Outlaw," which was played with success for several nights after his benefit at Drury-lane Theatre.

We are now arrived at the last season of his management at the Haymarket Theatre, a task he was about to enter upon with much reluctance, from his previous knowledge of the instability and capriciousness of the arrangements of that house; but a circumstance took place immediately antecedent to the opening, that relieved him from the performance of an unpleasant duty. Mr. Colman sold a share of his property to Messrs. Morris and Winston, which placed the latter gentleman in Mr. Elliston's situation. Notwithstanding the want both of cordiality and of system, the season was very lucrative; and the ex-manager, after the most laborious exertions, took his final leave of the summer theatre at the conclusion of this campaign.

If the person of Mr. Garrick is to be considered as the standard of an actor's stature, Mr. Elliston may, if any thing, be taller than the unrivalled hero of the British stage, while the other parts of his person appear anatomically correct and duly proportioned.

To the countenance and eyes of this gentleman nature has certainly been favourable, as they contain those marks of expression, which want only study to render fully efficient in all the various duties of his profession. In respect to the expression and gracefulness of his attitudes, no objection can fairly be made. We have often attended to the deportment of his person, and never found cause to consider any part of his action as either redundant or inelegant.

Othello is a performance in which he is not regularly great, although he sometimes bursts upon the audience in such a manner as to excite admiration. The fire of his youth leads him in this character, as in Hamlet, into too much occasional hurry, which time and reflection will no doubt soften down.

The requisites for the performance of Macbeth are of such a peculiar kind, that the man who possesses them in an eminent degree, is in some measure but ill calculated for parts of an opposite description; yet this ardent candidate for fame never assumes the character without exhibiting many features of originality in his delineation of it. His performance, however, is by no means so methodised as that of Kemble, or rendered so complete, when considered as a whole. Elliston dazzles us with repeated flashes of original genius and conception, leaving intervals to discover the imperfections of his youthful efforts. But his performance clearly shows that he may be in that character, what at present he is not.

In respect to Comedy, Mr. Elliston sustains a

wide range with a happy effect ; but his genteel characters have always been most esteemed. That mellowness, however, which time alone can bestow, is still wanting ; and when he has been allowed more leisure for the study of his respective parts, he will, perhaps, become as celebrated for the greatness and perfection of his scenic efforts as he is now for his usefulness and versatility.



### MR. ALDERMAN COMBE.

MUCH has been said respecting the disadvantages arising out of the increased population of Great cities ; and no small portion of declamation has been used in order to prove how prejudicial this circumstance is to the best interests of a nation. It is customary to consider the metropolis of the British Isles, in particular, as a *head*, which of late years has swelled to such an unnatural size, as to have become eminently disproportionate to the *body*, while it is nourished entirely at its expense. In respect to England, indeed, the ratio both in point of numbers and extent, is excessive ; but when it is recollected that this immense collection of streets and squares is not only the capital of the European portion of the empire, but also of our Asiatic, West Indian, and American dominions, some of these objections will vanish.

A multitude of advantages also must be allowed,  
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on the other hand, to be derived from an extensive metropolis; constituting the germe, as it were, of civility in the early stages of society, it becomes in time not only the centre of commerce, but the asylum of the arts. It is there too that the people who, as an aggregate body, first learn and exercise their rights, have always a clear notion of their interests. It is there that they first begin to confer concerning their common injuries, and are taught to unite for a redress of their immediate wrongs.\*

The English capital, in particular, has at all times constituted an important portion of the body politic. Its citizens, on account of their wealth and spirit, were at an early period of our history complimented with the aristocratical distinction of "Barons,"† while the conspicuous favour of nominating no less than four representatives, denotes no small degree of pre-eminence in respect to the important article of legislation.

The city of London too has always been distinguished for its patriotism and its love of liberty. While one of our learned universities endeavoured at

\* "Conferre injurias et interpretando accendere." TACIT.

† A bishop of Winchester (legate to the Pope, and brother to King Stephen), about the middle of the twelfth century, observed in a council of the clergy of England, to certain deputies sent from the capital, "that it very ill became the citizens of London, who were regarded as *a kind of nobles in England*, to favour that party of the nobility who had abandoned their prince in battle, and who seemed to court the Londoners with no other view than to squeeze money from them."

W. of MALMS.

once to foster and perpetuate the slavish doctrines attempted to be inculcated by the House of Stuart, the inhabitants of the metropolis manfully supported their rights and liberties, and afterwards contributed not a little to seat the present illustrious family of Brunswick on the throne of these realms. In addition to this, the monied and mercantile interest, although often decried on account of their recent importance, have been eager to embrace every improvement and reform consistent with freedom, while on the other hand, with a few exceptions only, they have strenuously resisted every innovation that savoured of despotism.

From the happy nature of our constitution, many uneducated individuals indeed have suddenly risen into wealth from obscurity, passed rapidly through all the municipal offices, and at length attained the highest dignity in the corporation, without conferring dignity on the *pretorian* chair. But on the other hand, no city, since the heroic days of ancient Greece and Rome, could ever boast of so many illustrious magistrates and legislators to sustain its franchises, administer justice to its inhabitants, or represent its freemen in parliament.

The talents and integrity of Sir John Bernard were alike acknowledged by Walpole, whom he opposed, and by Pitt, whom he supported: the former paid a generous tribute of admiration to an enemy, while the latter conferred upon a friend the appellation of the "great commoner," a title, which, by the general consent of the nation, was afterwards transferred

ferred to himself. The virtues and abilities of the late Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen, have rendered his memory illustrious; and had he lived but a century before, his name perhaps would have been coupled with the Hampdens, the Sydneys, and the Russels of another age, as like them he was a zealous advocate and defender of public liberty.

Oliver and Crosby vindicated the rights of the city in the case of the printers. Beckford, the first subject who ever replied to a king of England, exhibited a degree of munificence that astonished the Sovereign of Denmark, who happened to be his guest, and would have beggared any of the nobility of his day to have surpassed. Glynn, one of the ablest lawyers of his time, supported the interests of the city with all the learning of his profession, in the capacities of Recorder and Representative. Townsend, with the erudition of Cambridge, united energy and talent becoming a respectable magistrate; while Sawbridge, to a good family and ample fortune, added principles worthy of the Whigs who had placed our great deliverer, William III. on the throne; for notwithstanding the threat of a bill of pains and penalties, and in the very teeth of a resolution of the House of Commons, which has since been rescinded from the journals, he supported the privileges of the Electors of Middlesex, at the imminent risk of his own fortune and liberty.

Nor, on the other hand, ought the munificence of the corporation to be forgotten. On one mem-

ber\* was conferred the most profitable office in its gift, to enable him to pay his debts, which he performed with the most honourable punctuality; another,† who had acted as the zealot of patriotism, was permitted to die Chamberlain of London, even after he had abandoned the principles which had raised him from insignificance; while the declining years of a third,‡ were comforted, if not sustained, by the revenues of a sinecure in the gift of the city of London.

Harvey Christian Combe, whose talents and integrity have hitherto rendered him worthy of being ranked among those who have at once received from and reflected lustre on the city of London, is a native of Hampshire. He was born in 1752-3, and is the eldest son of the late Mr. Combe, of Andover, who, to a landed estate of five hundred pounds per annum, added the profitable and respectable situation of an attorney, in considerable practice.

While two younger brothers chose the profession of the army, in which both obtained companies, and one a grave, the eldest son, after receiving a good education, repaired to that capital in which he was one day destined to preside. As he was intended for trade, and his relation, the late Mr. Boyce Trees, was a respectable and opulent corn-factor, he became an inmate of his family, and was brought up in his

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\* Sir S. Theodore Jansen.

† Mr. Wilkes.

‡ The Right Honourable Thomas Harley.

office. His assiduity, industry, and talents for business, soon pointed him out as one of those who in the city are termed *rising young men*; and while he himself did not even dream of such an event, a professional man of great worth and acuteness,\* hailed him as a future Representative and Lord Mayor of London. Having married his first cousin, Miss Kitty Trees, and thus converted his uncle into his father-in-law, he succeeded, on the death of that gentleman, to the whole of his business, and also to a large portion, we believe, of his estate.

But the line of life in which he had been bred, profitable and respectable as it was, did not furnish a field sufficiently ample for the talents and ambition of Mr. Combe. There is one class of traders, who by the extensiveness of their dealings, acquire great influence, while by the largeness of their capitals, they at the same time obtain very considerable gains. To this opulent corporation, for so we believe it may be termed, few in point of number, and wealthy in respect to income, he wished to appertain; and he accordingly, in conjunction with two gentlemen, one of them attached to him by marriage, and the other by friendship, entered into a partnership that in the course of a few years was entitled to be ranked as the fifth, if not the fourth† house in the metropolis.

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\* Mr. Rudd, of Great Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

† They paid the duty on eighty-seven thousand seven hundred gallons of beer, in 1804; and we believe that one hundred and fifty-two thousand five hundred gallons was the greatest quantity brewed by any single house, in the same period.

The good sense, popular manners, and respectable situation of Mr. Combe, at length pointed him out as a proper person to become a member of the corporation of the city of London; and we believe, upon this occasion he was introduced by his friend, the late Mr. Sawbridge, then the respectable alderman of Langbourn Ward. In 1790 he aspired to represent the city; on which occasion the contest lay chiefly between him and Mr. Lushington; but the latter, after a sharp struggle, prevailed. In 1796, he proved more fortunate, and in 1800 served the office of Lord Mayor with a degree of credit that not only reflected high honour upon him as a man and as a magistrate, but called forth the reluctant applause even of those who had opposed him. This is no common proof of merit during critical and stormy periods, when all the rancour of party-spirit is aroused, and private hostility not unfrequently embitters political malice. A junto had been formed against him in the court of aldermen, with whom the appointment of the candidate ultimately rests; and as they had chosen to break through the common rule, and elect a junior alderman in preference to him, he was not returned in 1799. On the succeeding year, however, he was put in nomination, in conjunction with the venerable Alderman Skinner, who had served the office before; and as that respectable magistrate of course declined the honour, at the same time that he paid the highest eulogium to the character and abilities of the other candidate, nothing remained for his opponents but acquiescence.

When

When the situation of the country became so alarming as to call for the exertions of all good citizens, he was one of the first to offer his services. On this occasion, he was chosen Captain Commandant of the Aldgate Volunteers; and here again a party in the city flattered themselves with the hope that the ministers of the crown would advise his Majesty to refuse his signature to the commission, but they were once more disappointed; and to add to their mortification, as he was determined to go through a course of drilling himself, before he undertook to teach others, he in due time became a most excellent officer. He afterwards received a majority in Mr. Alderman Newman's regiment, and is now Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of a battalion.

The result of such conduct was naturally such as might have been fairly prognosticated; and accordingly at the general election in 1802, when there were no less than seven candidates, his name stood at the head of the poll.\*

The parliamentary conduct of Mr. Combe has been always consonant to those principles which distinguished the Whigs of a former age. During the late war, he, in common with many good and able

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* For Mr. Alderman Combe,	-	+	-	3377
Mr. Alderman Price,	-	-	-	2256
Mr. Alderman (now Sir W.) Curtis,				2989
Sir W. Anderson,	-	-	-	2387
Mr. Travers,	-	-	-	1371
Sir W. Lewes,	-	-	-	652
Mr. Lushington,	-	-	-	113

men,

men, not only bewailed the manner in which it originated, but the mode in which it was carried on. His name accordingly appears in many of the divisions, during Mr. Pitt's former administration, which he opposed, sometimes spontaneously, and at other times at the express injunctions of the livery.

There is no point of which a member of the House of Commons ought to be more tenacious, than any assumed power on the part of the minister to meddle with the public purse. In 1796 this appeared actually to be the case, and accordingly became not only the subject of a very brilliant speech, but also of the following very pointed motion on the part of Mr. Fox, on the 14th of December :

“ That his Majesty's Ministers having authorised and directed, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of various sums of money for the service of his Imperial Majesty, and also for the service of the army under the Prince of Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this House.”

Mr. Alderman Combe, in obedience to the instructions of his constituents, who had met that day in the Common Hall of the city of London, and had desired their representatives to censure the conduct of ministers, in giving away the public money without the consent of Parliament, seconded the motion.

He spoke “ of the respectability of the meeting, and of the pride he should always feel in following the voice of his constituents, the Livery of London, who almost unanimously disapproved of the Minister's conduct on the present occasion ; and it was with peculiar satisfaction he now obeyed their directions, as

his

his own sentiments entirely agreed with their opinion. After what had been advanced by his right honourable friend, he would not say a word upon the subject in a constitutional point of view. As the representative of the first commercial city in the world, he was well acquainted with the mischief produced by the money sent to the Emperor. The discounting of the bills drawn for the purpose of remitting money to the Imperial troops had swallowed up so much of the money of the Bank, as to compel that great body to narrow their discounts, and the British merchants were made to suffer, that the German troops might be supplied. The remittances to the allied armies on the Continent had, in fact, been a great cause of the alarming scarcity of money last year, and of most of the embarrassments which had been experienced in the commercial world."

He next adverted "to the professions which had been so recently made by members of Parliament, of love and respect for the constitution, and of regard and deference for the sentiments of their constituents, which he hoped had not already evaporated; on the contrary, he trusted that gentlemen would, on the present evening, give a proof of the contrary. He professed to be attached personally to no man, nor to have any prejudice against any of the Members of Administration. He voted with Mr. Fox, as a friend to human happiness, which was best secured by political liberty; and this evening he came down, to use the phrase of the right honourable gentleman, impregnated with the sense of his constituents, which was this day so fairly and decidedly given by the Common Hall."

In 1803, he opposed the principle of the income tax, at the express request of his constituents, whom he has always obeyed; while two of his colleagues voted in favour of that measure, in the very teeth of their instructions.

Soon after this (July 22), when the "General Defence Act" was brought forward, Mr. Alderman Combe declared his approbation of that measure, and ob-  
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served "that every man in the country ought to go forth when the exercise of the King's prerogative called upon him. There should be no exemption, but on the ground of inability. From one end to the other, the city of London," he added, "were not only ready, but anxious to know how they could come forward with most effect. If there was any apprehension, it arose from the probability of embarrassment, by the myriads the city would pour out. In every ward, parish, and street, the people were waiting with impatience until his Majesty should point out the means of organizing their courage."

On another occasion, (March 19, 1804) he stated that the volunteer force in and about the metropolis, which the city of London had furnished, amounted to about twelve thousand men. "There was not one of these," he observed, "who did not consider himself liable, in case of invasion, to be put under the command of a general officer, and marched to any part of the kingdom. He begged leave further to state, that no one could doubt that their offers originated in a pure patriotic spirit alone, because, as by their charters, they were exempt from those military duties to which other parts of England are liable, they had no occasion whatever to seek refuge from the ballots."

In the spring of 1805, Mr. Alderman Combe received the thanks of his constituents in Common Hall assembled, for his vote in respect of Lord Melville. On that occasion he, in conjunction with all the other city members, declared himself decidedly  
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of opinion that the supposed malversation of that nobleman, while Treasurer of the Navy, demanded immediate investigation, and they accordingly contributed a portion of the celebrated majority of one, upon that occasion.

Mr. Combe, being an excellent whist-player, is a member of several fashionable clubs, particularly Brookes's, which is chiefly frequented by the opposition. This circumstance, however, does not interfere with any of his duties, either official or domestic. In private life, he is a fond father and a good husband. Frank, hospitable, and open, he at once looks to be what he really is, a pattern of the good old English character.\*

\* George 1st, 2d, and 3d, have been entertained, in succession, by opulent individual brewers of the city of London, and Mr. Alderman Combe has lately revived the ancient custom of treating guests, the most illustrious in rank, with rump of beef and porter.

He lately gave an entertainment of this description to the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duke of Cambridge, &c. &c. on which occasion the *Stoker*, appavelled in a white cap and jacket, broiled the steaks on his polished iron shovel, and served them up, *hot and hot*, on a table placed in the Brew-house, and very appositely covered with *hop-sacks*. Pewter trenchers were at the same time laid for the party, while they were regaled with brown stout from wooden mugs.

We are afraid, however, that the degeneracy of the present age was visible even on this occasion, for turbot and salmon-trout appear to have been served up also, while the retreat to the alderman's house, in Great Russel-street, where a superb desert and the best foreign wines made their appearance, was not in strict conformity to ancient custom; we have been given to understand, that

A numerous family of ten children, most of whom are females, requires no common portion of care and attention ; and they seem to be educated in such a manner, as to reflect no small degree of honour on Mrs. Combe, whom we have seen walking along the shores of Sandgate, at once surrounded and adorned by what one of the most celebrated ladies of ancient Rome termed “her most precious jewels.” The Alderman also, in defiance of the absurd custom too frequently followed by those who have obtained wealth by means of that very commerce of which they ridiculously appear to be ashamed, instead of abandoning his sons to indolence and dissipation, which stifle all the virtues, has destined them, like himself, for the counting house. His eldest, after receiving an excellent education at Eton, with the children of our nobility and gentry, acts, at the same time, in the double capacity of a defender of his country, as an officer of the Westminster Light Horse, and an ornament of the city, as one of its principal traders.

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that *more majorum*, the treat should both begin and end in the Brewhouse, and that porter and beef-steaks ought alone to be visible.

## APPENDIX.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD KEITH, K. B.

Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of the North Sea Fleet. (See page 1.)

SINCE the present work went to press, this nobleman, in consequence of a general naval promotion signified in the London Gazette, November 9, 1805, has been raised to the rank of an Admiral of the White. We are sorry to add, that the state of public affairs on the continent is less auspicious than when this article was penned.

We have observed (page 3) that the Scotch never possessed what could be properly denominated a Royal Navy. It may not, however, be improper in this place to remark, that James IV. built what was considered in his age as an immense ship, which received the appellation of the Great Michael; and according to an historian of that day, "was the largest and of superior strength to any that had sailed from England or France: for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber," adds he, "that except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which were oak wood, with all timber that was gotten out of Norrway: for she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth, all the wrights (carpenters) of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her, but it was a year and a day ere she was complete.

"From the time she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with two anchors offering thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences."

As the landing effected in Egypt, reflected no small honour on his lordship, we shall here transcribe his own account of that brilliant exploit,

Copy of a letter from Admiral Lord Keith, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq.; dated on board the Foudroyant, in the Bay of Aboukir, 10th March.

"SIR,

"My dispatches of the 22d ult. by the Speedwell, will have acquainted you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the armament on that day quitted the harbour

of Marmorice for this place, which the whole fleet reached on the 2d instant, the Turkish gun-boats and kaicks excepted, all of which bore up, by night, for Macri, Cyprus, and other ports, during the prevalence of strong westernly gales that we encountered on the passage.

“ Too much of the day of our arrival here had elapsed before all the ships could get to anchorage, to admit of the landing being effected before the approach of night; and an unfortunate succession of strong northerly gales, attended by a heavy swell, rendered it impossible to disembark before the 8th. The necessary preparations were made on the preceding evening. The boats began to receive the troops at two o'clock in the morning, and at three the signal was made for their proceeding to rendezvous near the Modovi, anchored about a gun-shot from the shore, where it had been determined that they were to be assembled and properly arranged; but such was the extent of the anchorage occupied by so large a fleet, and so great the distance of many of them from any one given point, that it was not till nine the signal could be made for the boats to advance towards the shore.

“ The whole line immediately began to move with great celerity towards the beach, between the castle of Aboukir and the entrance of the Sed, under the direction of the Honourable Captain Cochrane, of his Majesty's ship the Ajax, assisted by Captains Stevenson, Scott, Larmour, Apthorpe, and Morrison, of the Europa, Stately, Diadem, Druid, and Thisbe, and the respective agents of transports, the right flank being protected by the Cruelle cutter, and the Dangereuse and Janissary gun-vessels, and the left by the Entreprenant cutter, Malta schooner, and Negresse gun-vessel, with two launches of the fleet on each, armed for the purpose of supplying the places of the Turkish gun-vessels, of whose service I had been deprived. Captain Sir Sidney Smith, of the Tigre, with the Captains Riboleau, Guion, Saville, Burn, and Hyllyar, of the Astrea, Eurys, Experiment, Blonde, and Niger, appointed, with a detachment of seamen, to co-operate with the army, had the charge of the launches, with the field artillery accompanying the troops. The Tartarus and Fury were placed in proper situations for throwing shot and shells with advantage; and the Peterel, Chameleon, and Minorca were moored as near as possible, with their broadsides to the shore.

“ The enemy had not failed to avail himself of the unavoidable delays to which we had been exposed, for strengthening the naturally difficult coast to which we were to approach. The whole garrison of Alexandria, said to amount to near three thousand men, reinforced with many small detachments that had been observed to advance from the Rosseta branch, was appointed for its defence. Field-pieces were placed on the most commanding heights, and in the intervals of the numerous sand-hills which cover the shore, all of which were lined with musketry; the beach on either wing being flanked with cannon, and parties of cavalry held in readiness to advance.

“ The fire of the enemy was successively opened from their mortars and field-pieces, as the boats got within their reach, and as they approached to the shore the excessive discharge of grape-shot and of musketry from behind the sand-hills seemed to threaten them with destruction; while the castle of Aboukir, on the right flank,

flank, maintained a constant and harassing discharge of large shot and shells: but the ardour of our officers and men was not to be damped. No moment of hesitation intervened. The beach was arrived at, a footing obtained, the troops advanced, and the enemy were forced to relinquish all the advantageous positions which they had held.

"The boats returned without delay for the second division; and before the evening the whole army, with few exceptions, was landed, with such articles of provisions and stores as required the most immediate attention.

"I refer to the General's report for the loss sustained by the army in this dangerous and difficult service. I inclose the casualties of the squadron and transports, and feel much satisfaction in conveying to their Lordships my full testimony to the merits of all the officers and men employed under my orders on this arduous occasion.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"KEITH."

Here follows an explanatory paper, issued along with the map, inserted in the body of the work.

"As the landing in general may be expected to take place on a flat coast, the ships of war will anchor in the line A B according to the direction of the coast or bay. The Admiral will take a central position. The larger troop ships will occupy the line C D; the lesser troop ships and transports, E F; the small craft, galleys, &c. G H, or as near as possible to the place intended to land at, having previously taken on board the troops intended to make part of the second landing. When the weather permits, and the signal is made to prepare to land, the boats will repair to the ships pointed out in the order of landing, and receive the troops intended to land first; and having debarked them, return without delay to the small vessels, and take in the second detachment, which they are to land as expeditiously as possible, and returning again, continue so to do till the disembarkation is completed. The boats which are necessarily employed at the distant ships, will carry fresh troops to the small vessels to be in readiness to get into the boats as they return from making the second landing."

MRS. THICKNESSE. (See page 84.)

In order to complete the article relative to this lady, it will be proper here to observe, that she accompanied the Governor into Flanders, in 1782-3, the occurrences of which tour were afterwards detailed by him in an octavo volume, entitled "*A Year's Journey through the Pays Bas or Austrian Netherlands*;" a second edition of which was published in 1786, in the form of letters.

We find that soon after the conclusion of the American war, "no less than two thousand English families had arrived at Calais with a view of living cheaper." The Governor, however, was of opinion that their calculations were fallacious, he himself having experienced that every thing had been enhanced in value in France as well as in Great Britain, which he familiarly illustrates by the price of a pair of Morocco slippers being doubled in the course of a few years.

In Letter III. he gives his reasons for travelling at his time of life, and endeavours to prove that it is far more proper to see the world at fifty than at twenty.

"The rich man in years," says he, "should travel to amuse his mind, and take off that ennui which wears him down more rapidly to the grave than even time; and the poor man, like myself, should travel to pick up matter worthy of communicating to others, and to support the expence of travelling; but that is not all; travelling, and travelling upon the continent (with temperance in the train), is, of all others, the most conducive not only to health, but to a long life void of bodily infirmities. The smoothness of our roads in England, the ease of our carriages, the exquisite springs they hang on, and the imperceptible manner in which a gouty or nephritic sufferer moves from place to place, renders his journey in England heating, and injurious to his health; but a coarser carriage for some hundred miles on the continental *pavé*, breaks, divides, and passes, concretions formed in the kidneys, or gall-bladder—embryoes of succeeding miseries. Travelling thus opens obstructions which a life of half a century unavoidably shuts up, and paves the way not only to a long life, but to an easy and mature death." He adds, as follows, in a postscript: "My late worthy and aged friend, Sir Mark Pleydell, kept a rumbling two-wheel post-chaise for his own use, and a four-wheel spring-chaise for his visitors."

During this, which was his fifth journey to the continent, he saw, conversed with, and received many communications from, Mr. Howard, so celebrated for his humanity. While at Antwerp, he obtained leave to copy three original letters from Rubens for whom he entertained an enthusiastic regard. In the church of St. André, at Antwerp, Mrs. Thicknesse and he contemplated with great pleasure a curious monument erected by two English ladies to the memory of the celebrated Queen of Scots. This affords him an opportunity to pay a few compliments to the memory of Elizabeth, "*whose turnip complexion and carrotty pate* could not bear to let the beautiful face of Mary adorn even the interior walls of an antiquated castle in Northamptonshire."

In the course of this excursion, they visited Spa, and appear to have mixed with the best company. After this they repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, &c. and then returned to their "Hermitage" at Bath; thus concluding a tour, which no doubt afforded much entertainment, but must have been occasionally embittered by the ill offices of a Jew, whom he designates as Mordecai Nosey; an unfortunate mistake in respect to the Abbe Mann, on which occasion neither he nor the Governor was to blame; and the sudden dissolution of friendship with the Prince de Ligne, in consequence of malice or misinformation.

By this time the Governor appears to have been in some degree reconciled to his native country, for he declares that he finds no difference between living in France and in England, but that which proceeds from "a bunch of large ripe grapes instead of a green one; and for which," adds he, "you must endure intolerable heat in summer, and be starved all the winter; for a good fire is seldom to be seen in any house on the continent; and where it is, two or three coxcombs always form a screen made of their broad bottoms, between the company and the flame."

On their return home, he observes as follows: "I find every thing in this country the sweeter for having left it, save only the abominable flavour of the wine, which is called, and is, I believe, *good port*; but time alone can bring me to relish such a composition of brandy and blackberries."

DEAN KIRWAN. (See page 388).

THIS popular divine is no more. He died after the article relative to him had been printed.

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K. B.

Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief on the American Station. (See page 528).

THIS officer was raised to the rank of Admiral of the Blue, November 9, 1805.

Sir Andrew was educated at the High School, Edinburgh.

SIR CHARLES MORICE POLE, BART.

Vice-Admiral of the Red, and one of the Commissioners for investigating Abuses in the Naval Department. (See page 567).

IN consequence of the late general promotion, announced from the Admiralty Office, November 9, 1805, and inserted on the same evening in the London Gazette, this officer is now an Admiral of the Blue. His name stands the last on the list.

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N. B. In Vol. vii. (Life of the Duchess of Devonshire) for *Blenheim and Hocstedt*, read *Blenheim and Ramilies*.

# PUBLIC CHARACTERS.

*Memoirs of the following Personages have appeared in the former  
Volumes of this Work, either of which may be had of all Book-  
sellers, price Half a Guinea in Boards, with Portraits, &c.*

## VOL. I. for 1798-1799.

The Earl of Moira	Mr. Jackson, of Exeter	Mr. Justice Grose
Sir John Sinclair	Lord Malmesbury	Mr. Kemble
Mr. Roscoe	Dr. Joseph White	Miss Seward
The Earl of Liverpool	The Bp. of Worcester	Ld. Chancellor of Ireland
Mr. Abraham Newland	The Earl of Buchan	Mr. Cumberland
Mr. Fox	Mr. Northcote	Sir Achibald Macdonald
Mr. Pitt	The Bishop of Llandaff	Mrs. Siddons
Dr. Darwin	Mr. Henry Erskine	The Bishop of Salisbury
Lord Hood	Lord Charlemont	Lord Eldon
Sir G.L. Staunton	Mr. Grattan	The Duke of Norfolk
Mr. Thomas Taylor	Sir W. Sydney Smith	Dr. Towers
General Melville	Dr. Thomas Haweis	Lord Thurlow
The Bishop of London	Mr. Dundas	The Marquis Cornwallis
Dean Tucker	Lord Kilwarden	Dr. Priestley
Lord Duncan	Mr. Curran	Miss More
The Bp. of Rochester	Lord Monboddo	Mr. Alderman Boydell
Mr. Justice Buller	Mr. Daines Barrington	Mr. George Dyer
Dr. Wolcot	Dr. O'Leary	Mr. D'Israeli
The Abp. of Canterbury	Lord Yelverton	Mr. David Williams
Mr. Arthur Murphy	Mr. Isaac C. rry	Mr. Gilbert Wakefield
The Earl of Dartmouth	Mr. John Beresford	Mr. Opie
The Bishop of Durham	Mr. John Foster	Lord Rokeley
Mr. King (the Comedian)	Dr. Burney	Lord Nelson.
The Bp. of Winchester	Dr. Herschel	

## VOL. II. for 1799-1800.

The Earl of St. Vincent	Sir John Parnell	Dr. Garnett
Mr. Sheridan	Mr. Southey	Lord Dillon
The Rev. Dr. Parr	Dr. Duigenan	Lord Castlereagh
The Hon. T. Erskine	Mr. George Ponsonby	Dr. Adam Fergusson
Dr. Charles Hutton	Mr. Granville Sharp	Mr. William Hayley
Lord Hawkesbury	Mr. Polham	The Countess of Derby
Dean Milner	The Duke of Grafton	Mr. Pratt
The Bishop of Meath	Mr. Secretary Cooke	Dr. Harrington
The Rev. Wm. Farish	Major Cartwright	The Duchess of Gordon
Sir Francis Burgeois	The Duke of Leinster	Dr. Currie
The Duke of Richmond	Mrs. Inchbald	Miss Linwood
Mrs. Abington	Earl Fitzwilliam	Mr. William Cowper
Mr. Saurin	Mr. William Godwin	Lord Kenyon
Dr. Samuel Arnold	The Rev. Mr. Greaves	Mr. Hastings
Lord Bridport	Mr. Shield	The Duke of Bedford.
The Mqs. of Lansdown	Sir George Yonge	

**VOL. III. for 1800-1801.**

Mr. Matthew Boulton	Mr. Jefferson	Mr. Edm. Cartwright
Professor Porson	Mr. Bush Washington	Lord Grenville
Mr. Pinkerton	Dr. John Gillies	Dr. William Hawes
Mr. Wilberforce	Lord Hobart	Mr. Edmund Randolph
Mrs. Charlotte Smith	Mr. Bidlake	Mr. Paul Sandby
Sir Ralph Abercromby	Earl of Rosslyn	Mr. John Clerk
Lord Dorchester	Mr. Dugald Stewart	Mrs. Robinson
Earl Stanhope	Dr. Hugh Blair	Dr. Lettson
Mr. George Colman	Mr. Barry	Mr. Alderman Skinner
Dr. James Gregory	Mr. John Ireland	Dr. James Anderson
The D. of Bridgewater	Sir William Beechey	The Prince De Eouillon
Dr. William Mavor	The Duke of Portland	Duke of Marlborough
Mr. Robert Kerr Porter	Mr. Joseph Banks	The Lord-Justice-Clerk
Mr. John Thelwall	Sir Peter Parker	of Scotland.

**VOL. IV. for 1801-1802.**

Mr. Addington	Colonel Despard	Dr. Mitchell
Sir Richard Hughes	Lord Sheffield	Col. Tatham
Lord Spencer	Mr. Windham	Bishop of Lincoln
Lord Alvanley	Count Rumford	Mrs. Cowley
Mr. J. H. Tooke	Rev. T. Maurice	Dr. Beattie
General Bowles	General Strutt	General Hutchinson
Marquis Townshend	Mr. Dawson (Sedburgh)	James Martin, M. P.
Governor Franklin	Dr. Kennel	Dr. Rees
Earl of Fife	Mr. Caleb Whitefoord	Mr. Arthur Young.
Dr. Moore		

**VOL. V. for 1802-1803.**

Lord Auckland	Dr. George Hill	Professor Carlyle
Dr. Jenner	Adm. Sir R. Curtis, Bart.	Mr. Henry Mackenzie
The Goldsmids	Dr. Thornton	Dr. Basby
Dr. Vincent	Major-gen. Ira Allen	Mrs. Billington
Lord Macartney	Mr. T. Jones, of Cambridge	Mr. William Hutton
Lord Harrington	Dr. Trotter	Dr. William Thomson
Archdeacon Paley	Rev. Richard Polwhele	Sir William Ouseley
Admiral Roddam	Mr. Harris, of Covent-garden	Sir Francis Burdett
Sir Richard Hill, Bart.	Mr. Christopher Ainslie	Mr. James Watt
Rev. Rowland Hill	Mr. William Gifford	Mr. John Palmer, late of the Post-office
Dr. John Law (Bp. of Elphin)		Lord Minto

**VOL. VI. for 1803-1804.**

Sir Robert Peel	The Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville	Mr. Richard Gough
Admiral Cornwallis	Lord Grenville	The Earl of Carlisle
Dr. Rigby	General Foxcott	The Bishop of Gloucester
General Fanning	The Duke of Queensborough	Lady Hamilton
Mr. Almon	The Duke of Devonshire	General Paoli
General Fanning	The Duke of Devonshire	Mr. Braham
Lord Abercromby	The Duke of Devonshire	Mr. Braham
Marq. of Buckingham	The Duke of Devonshire	Mr. Braham
Earl Temple	The Duke of Devonshire	Mr. Braham

*Memoirs contained in the former Volumes of this Work.*

The Earl of Westmoreland	General Vallancey	The Bishop of Oxford.
The Marq. Wellesley	Lord Cathcart	Appendix.
The Bishop of Bangor	Lord Frankfort	Miss Seward
The Duke of Northumberland	General Urquhart	The Bishop of Meath.
	Major Rennel	
	Dr. Knox	

**VOL. VII. for 1804-1805.**

Admiral Sir John Borlase	Major Topham	Lord Whitworth
Warren, K. B.	Earl of Balcarras	Dr. Tennant
Sir Francis Baring, Bart.	Dr. James, Prebendary	Archbishop of York
M. P.	of Worcester	Duchess of Devonshire
Mr. Tierney	Mr. Egerton Brydges	Earl of Romney
Sir Henry Grey, Bart.	Dr. Jackson, Dean of	Mr. Garrow
Lord Grey de Howie	Christ Church	Admiral Alan Lord
The Hon. Capt. George	Lord Howe	Gardner
Grey	Mrs. Cosway	The Hon. Alan-Hyde
The Hon. Charles Grey,	Mr. Kett, of Trinity	Gardner, Royal Navy
M. P.	College, Oxford	Mr. West, President of
General Moore	Earl of Camden	the Royal Academy
The Earl of Lauderdale	Sir James Mansfield	Admiral Sir James Saumarez.
Mrs. Crespigny	Dr. Robert Bree	

*Opinions of this Work by the most respectable of the periodical Critics.*

“ This work proceeds according to its first design, and it seems to improve as it advances with time. The volumes contain a considerable number of memoirs of persons, our contemporaries, who figure in the moral, the political, and the scientific walks of society. The discussion of living characters is a difficult and delicate task, but in the execution of it, the authors of this work have acquitted themselves with as much success as can reasonably be expected.”

*Monthly Review.*

“ This work excites much curiosity, because it professedly treats of living characters, and we infer that its information is impartial and correct. It is but justice to own that we have been altogether amused by the publication.”

*British Critic.*

“ A spirit of candour and moderation evidently pervades the present publication. Some of the characters are drawn with great discrimination, and display an acuteness of powers, and a felicity of expression, not to be found in the fleeting productions of the day. In short, the work abounds in moral and critical observations that evince correctness of judgment, and delicacy of taste.”

*London Review.*

“ This work discovers respectable traits of discrimination, and has the merit of being uncontaminated by the virulence of party spirit.”

*Critical Review.*

“ The memoirs contained in these volumes are full, and accurate in point of information; judicious in their literary and critical strictures; and exhibit well-drawn and appropriate characters of their respective subjects. They are not written under the uniform influence of any particular theological or political bias.”

*New Annual Register.*







